Reminiscences and Anecdotes

OF

Lokamanya Tilak

WITH A FOREWORD BY

Dr. ANNIE BESANT.

EDITED BY

S. V. BAPAT.

"Home-rule is my birth-right and I will have it."

—Lok Tilak.

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REMINISCENCES AND ANECDOTES

OF

LOKAMANYA TILAK

Foreword

The honor is given to me to write these few lines to Mr Bapat's most timely & useful work, the reminiscences by friends of that splendid servant of India, Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Let me write of him as I knew him.

He was a man filled with passionate & never-weakening love for India, for whom every sacrifice for her was joy, every suffering was welcome. No physical bondage could bind that free spirit. His clarion call still rings ~~thro~~ through India: "Freedom is my birthright, & I will have it."

In my own relations with him, I found him absolutely straight & loyal to his word. When we joined hands, I told him ~~that~~ I could join in no secret conspiracy, nor would I consent to throw boys & young men into any danger which we did not share. I did not seek to dictate his conduct to him, but I

DEDICATED

TO

SHRIYUT N. C. KELKAR

AND

SHRIYUT D. V. VIDWANS

Tried and trusted lifelong associates

of the

LATE LOKAMANYA

in his

Self-sacrificing Service

of the

MOTHERLAND

and

The present Trustees

of

"KESARI-MAHRATTA INSTITUTION"

In humble token of the love and high regard

which the Dedicator feels

towards them.

PREFACE

THIS third and last volume of Lokamanya Tilak's reminiscences was to be published on the 1st of January 1928. But owing to unavoidable and unforseen difficulties, the compiler regrets that he could not do so He is however glad to present it to the readers to-day. His original intention was to publish this volume even before January 1928; and hence he made urgent requests to the contributors of this volume to send in their material quickly. Now when he himself has made delay in the publication, it behoves him to beg their pardon for that. One of the many reasons why he could not publish this book then, was that Mr. N. C. Kelkar decided all of a sudden to publish the second part of Lok. Tilak's biography in Marathi

As this volume mainly contains matter which properly forms a sequel to the third Marathi volume of Lok. Tilak's reminiscences, it is obvious that this English volume could not be published earlier than the Marathi volume As the publication of that Marathi volume was post-poned for the above reasons, it was inevitable that this English volume had also to be post-poned along with that. That third Marathi volume is now published on this year's anniversary day of Lok. Tilak and for the convenience of English knowing readers this volume, like the first two English volumes, comprising the English contributions only, is published separately.

A similar first volume was published by me in 1924. In his preface to that volume Mr. N.C.Kelkar said, "...And my advice to Mr. Bapat would therefore be to preserve and make progress in the line on which he has already started and to make his work of reminiscence hunting as thorough and exhaustive as he can make it, so

that he may be able to make the English volume as big as the Marathi one According to that encouragement and advice I have corresponded with persons with whom to my knowledge Lok.Tilak had come in touch in some way or other in India and abroad. I have personally interviewed persons wherever possible. And as a result of this I have been able to present to the public a second volume in 1925 and this third and last volume in 1928 But I regret to announce that I have not been successful in this task as I expected. While all the three volumes in Marathi comprise 1875 pages I am sorry to say that the total number of pages of the three English volumes does not exceed 400 Also if the number of contributors to the three Marathi volumes is more than 600 the total number of contributors of the three English volumes is not more than 125 ! Between the one province of Maharashtra on the one hand and the whole of India on the other from the latter a larger number of contributors should have been forthcoming But it may be that it would not be proper to expect an equal number of contributors from people outside Maharashtra, as the Lok. Tilak must have come in touch with more people in Maharashtra than out of it and that too for a longer period. Yet if only all those who had assured me with their contributions had fulfilled their promise I would have been in a position to express my satisfaction rather than my disappointment. It is likely that had a better qualified and better known person than myself undertaken this work, it would have been more successful. But that seems not to be wholly correct. For even such a first-rank leader as Dr Besant had complied with my humble request in 1924 when she was homeward bound. She wrote her reminiscences on board the ship and posted them at Aden. Many other Rajas and Maharajas have also responded to my call. I am thankful to them all for that. But there are many others who in spite of my many letters and telegrams and their own promises, did not send their reminiscences. I attribute this lapse not to the lack of love and respect for Lok. Tilak on their part, but to the want of a sense of civic duty amongst

us, Indians, in general and I think this is the main cause of failure in this particular instance as in many other movements of ours.

Though the Marathi material fully satisfies the connotation and denotation of the word 'reminiscence,' I am fully aware that the material in the English volumes does not fall under that category But instead of myself explaining and answering that objection, I deem it proper to quote the actual words of Mr Kelkar from his lucid preface to the 1st English volume where he has already anticipated and given a reply to the objection. He says, "The reminiscences contained in this book are mostly by those who came into contact with Lok. Tilak, but comparitively at a distance, and therefore they may look more like appreciations than reminiscences. But even these have their own value as coming from illustrious men and women, who were his contemporary judges and in a few cases also his co-workers."

Mr D V Gokhale, B A LL B editor, 'Mahratta', had suggested in his foreward to the second volume, that as there were many a beautiful instructive anecdote in the Marathi volumes, which the English readers would read with great interest, they should be translated into English. I am sorry I have not been able to do this. But I beg to announce that whosoever will come forward to translate my Marathi volumes will get my permission most willingly

To conclude. I heartily thank all those who have obliged me by sending their contributions I am very much indebted to Dr. Besant for her short and sweet foreward. As in 1924, this time also she has sent her preface written in her own handwriting amidst the very busy time of her preparing to sail for England I am sure that instead of my formal thanks, she will appreciate my motives the better if I place her as an ideal before the Indian youths to follow rather than passively admire her energies in her old age.

Lastly, my obligations are many to my friends Messrs M.D Vidwans, M. A. LL. B., Pleader and G H. Dharap Asst. Manager whose assistance has been invaluable to me.

KESARI OFFICE
POONA CITY

S. V BAPAT

CONTENTS

	NAME	PAGE.
1	Barrister J. Chaudhari	1
2	Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar	17
3	Sir Manmohanadas Ramji	19
4	Barrister David S. Erulkar	21
5	Mrs. Shilavatibai Ketkar	23
6	Babu Bhagwandas	24
7	Sirdar Nowroji Pudumji	28
8	Doctor Sumant B. Mehta	29
9	Mr. Durgadas B. Adwani	30
10	Barrister Lala Harkishen Lal...	32
11	„ M. A. Jinnah	33
12	Sir J. C. Bose	35
13	Mr. J. K. Mehta	36
14	„ G A. Natesan	38
15	Lala Ishwardas Varshnei	41
16	Maulana Hasrat Mohani	42
17	Mr. C. N. Pandya	44
18	Doctor Abraham S Erulkar	47
19	Barrister Jivanlal V. Desai	48
20	Mr G. Hari Sarvottam Rao	50
21	Sir P. C. Roy	55
22	Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda	56
23	„ A. Fenner Brockway	58
24	„ Krishnakant Malviya	59
25	„ Shiva Prasad Gupta	61
26	Barrister T. Prakasam	62
27	Ven'ble Anagarika Dharmapala	67

	Name	Page.
28	Mr S. Shrinivas Iyengar	70
29	Barrister Mazrul Haque	71
30	Prof. G M. Jadhav	72
31	The Hon. Mr G S. Khaparde	73
32	Babu Piyush Kanti Ghose	100
33	Barrister J M. Sen Gupta	111
34	Shriyut Diwan Chaman Lal	111
35	Doctor M. A. Ansari	115
36	„ V H. Rutherford	119
37	Mr Hy S. L. Polak	121
38	Sadashiv-Shastri Kanhere	122
39	Mrs Josephine Ransom	123
40	Mr K. Vyasa Rao	125
41	Sir Edgar Wallais	128
42	Mr Konda Venkatappayya	129
43	Kaviraj Gananath Sen	131
44	Doctor Satyapal	132
45	Mr K. F Nariman	134
46	Sir M. Visvesvaraya	138
47	Doctor Choitram P Gidwani	139
48	Sir Valentine Chirol	140
49	Principal N M. Shah.	144
50	Mr S. A. Brelvi	145
51	Shree Swami Govindanand	146
52	Maulavi Leakut Hussain	151
53	Mr Deepchand M. Javeri	153
54	Barrister George Joseph	154
55	The Hon. Dr W A. De. Silva	155
56	Mr John Scurr	157
57	Sir Hari Sing Gour	157
58	Mr V O Chidambaram Pillai	158
59	Doctor Harold H Mann	164
60	Barrister M. Asaf Ali	165

	NAME	PAGE.
61	Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya	168
62	The Hon Sir Mohammad Ali Mahammad Khan ... (Maharaja of Mahmudabad)	173
63	His Highness The Maharaja Sir Sayajirao Gaikwar (Maharaja of Baroda)	173
64	His Highness The Maharaja Sir Shri Rama Vurmah (Ex-Maharaja of Cochin)	176
65	His Highness The Hon'ble Sir Rameshwar Singh... (Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga)	177
66	Babu Subhas Chandra Bose	178
67	Mr. Virumal Begraj	179
68	Lala Lajpat Rai	181
69	Lokamanya's Private Letters	
	To his nephew Mr. Dhondopant	183
	To his friend The Hon. Mr. Khaparde	184
70	Tilak's Study in Jail	199
71	Tilak's Proposed New Books	203
72	Subhas Chandra Bose	204

Lokamanya Tilak

REMINISCENCES
OF
LOKAMANYA TILAK.
VOL. III.

J. Chaudhari.

[*M. A., Bar-at-Law, Editor 'Weekly Notes,' Calcutta.*]

TILAK AT THE SIXTH SESSION OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

It was at the sixth session of the Indian National Congress, held in 1890 at the Tivoli Gardens (Baligunge) Calcutta, that I first saw Bal Gangadhar Tilak. I prefer to call all really great men by their common names which are household words to their country-men At that time I knew little about him. I had then just come out of college and attended the Congress as a helping hand to our late leader Surendranath Banerji and not as a delegate Amongst the thousands of people assembled at that Congress it was Tilak who made a profound impression on my mind When he got up to speak I saw a bright light beaming from his eyes which showed the fire of patriotism that burnt within his soul. I do not remember the speech at this distance of time But I remember a sentence that made such an indelible impression on my mind that, whenever I have thought of him later on, it has been the one thing that has risen uppermost in my mind. I have regarded it as the key-note of his political career Referring, I believe, to the capacity of the Indian people to defend and govern their own country, he said, "Remember, that it was not so very

long ago that we planted our banner at Attak." Although I am not a Mahratta, I often recall to mind the glories of the Maharashtra history and in moments of despondency persuade myself to believe, that split up though we are at present, some day we shall be able to sink our sectarian, communal, and party differences and unite and organise ourselves on the broad, democratic basis of an Indian Nationality and thus found a great Commonwealth of India. Tilak was too cultured and sensible to dream of a restoration of the Mahratta Empire but in common with us believed that it is the inherent birth-right of every people to organise and carry on the government of their own country

When I first saw him, he was in the prime of his life and I was struck by his impressive personality He was dark for a Mahratta, had an Aryan nose and very remarkable and brilliant eyes. The dark-red turban that he used to wear set off his complexion admirably He was not an orator He had a rather husky voice which he could not raise to a very high pitch. But he spoke very impressively He expressed himself in plain and simple words and although his language had no literary flavour about it, he spoke always very forcibly and effectively It was his earnestness and plain talk that always carried the audience with him.

POONA CONGRESS.

After the Calcutta Congress I heard nothing more about him for some years, because of my absence in England. After my return, I went to Poona to attend the Indian National Congress in December 1895 At that time there was no party feeling in Bengal. Surendranath Banerji the President-Elect, was then at the height of his popularity He was looked upon, not only in Bengal but throughout India, as the People s Tribune There was a very *large* and *distinguished gathering at* Poona. The merchant princes of Bombay the Deccan Sirdars, and eminent leaders from every province were there I have at

tended most of the Congress sittings since then, but I have never seen before or since such an impressive sight as was presented by the gathering at the Poona Congress pandal. The variegated turbans of the Deccan delegates differing in shape, colour and size according to rank, caste, position and occupation and the no less impressive headgear of delegates from North, West and Central India, made the assembly look rarely artistic and picturesque I imagine that the assembly at Rajasuya Jajna must have been something like it

When the Congress commenced its sittings, one general regret amongst the delegates was that Tilak was not there. We understood that some differences had arisen between the Congress Committee and Tilak and his followers. But on enquiry we learnt that Tilak with all his differences with the local Congress Committee, not only would not hamper the Congress work but actually lent all his moral support for the success of the Congress sitting So far as I can recollect, Tilak entered the Congress pandal, after the President of the Reception Committee had finished his speech and received a tremendous ovation from the assembled delegates Then followed the Presidential address It took Surendranath Banerji four hours and a half to deliver but he never referred to the printed copy of his speech, never faltered, halted or dropped a single syllable Indeed those who listened to him, thought that he was delivering the whole speech *ex tempore.* I mention this fact because Tilak, though not an orator, had a wealth of intellect which was, perhaps, even more marvellous and to which I shall refer later on.

TILAK'S FIRST SEDITION TRIAL IN BOMBAY

In 1897 I had occasion to come to know Tilak more intimately and take a true measure of his great ability and character The occasion was his prosecution for sedition by the Government of Bombay for a poem published in the *Kesari* newspaper. Prosecution for sedition in those days was rare. Prosecution of such

an eminent leader of public opinion like Mr Tilak, for sedition, shocked the whole of India.

INDIGNATION IN BENGAL.

In Bengal it roused great indignation. We took counsel of our leaders, and it was decided that we should raise the necessary funds and engage some eminent counsel from the Calcutta Bar to defend Mr Tilak in Bombay The Calcutta Bar had then the reputation of being the ablest and the most independent Bar in the whole of India. A committee was formed composed of some patriotic gentlemen and they paid very handsome contributions to the Tilak Defence Fund. But since the most important part of the work was to engage one or more eminent counsels, it was largely composed of lawyers and amongst them the names of the late Sir Ashutosh Chaudhari, then a rising junior at the Bar the late Mr Bhupendranath Basu and Mr Hirendranath Datt, deserve special mention. We decided to engage Mr William Jackson, nicknamed Tiger Jackson, because he was a terror to prevaricating witnesses and magistrates and judges with executive leanings. The trial was to take place in September when the Calcutta High Court would be closed for long vacation and Mr Jackson was unwilling to accept any engagement during the vacation. All possible pressure was put upon him but to no purpose At last we approached Surendranath Banerji to get Babu Ganesh Chandra Chunder the then leading Indian Solicitor who had great influence on Mr Jackson, to induce him to take up Tilak's defence But Mr Jackson, once he had made up his mind, would not change it. In vacation time it is difficult to get leading counsel to accept engagements. But Mr L. P Pugh and Mr William Garth were then to leave for England via Bombay and we persuaded them to take up Tilak's defence on their way home. Messrs. Bhaishankar and Kanga were Mr Tilak s Bombay Solicitors. Mr Bhupendranath Basu and Mr Hirendranath Datt Calcutta Solicitors, were in communication with the Bombay Solicitors The Calcutta

Solicitors after engaging Mr. Pugh and Mr. Garth, undertook to pay them their fees. It must be said to their credit that these leading members of the Calcutta Bar did not make any bargain with us about their fees and in accordance with the best traditions of the Bar, left it entirely to us to pay them any honorarium we pleased I believe that at the conclusion of the case we paid Rs. 10,000/- to Mr Pugh and Rs. 5,000/- to Mr. Garth.

As Mr. Pugh and Mr. Garth were both strangers to the Bombay Solicitors and to Mr Tilak and his friends, I was asked by Mr B N. Basu and Mr. H. N Datt at about 2 P. M on the day that they were to start for Bombay to accompany them as their junior for helping them and also for carrying on communications with the Calcutta Solicitors and the Tilak Defence Committee. The Bombay Plague scare was then in full swing in Calcutta. But we left cheerfully at the call of our self-imposed duty.

PERMISSION TO SOME COUNSEL TO DEFEND TILAK, REFUSED.

On arrival at Bombay we were told by Mr Tilak's Solicitors that we should have to apply to the High Court of Bombay for permission to appear We did so Permission was given only to Mr Pugh to appear and refused even to Mr (afterwards Sir William) Garth The reason assigned was that Mr Pugh was senior in standing to any other member then available at the Bombay Bar, but as there were many barristers of Mr. Garth's and my standing in Bombay, who might preferably be engaged, we were refused permission. I might observe that such denial of courtesy to members of the English Bar who had moreover been professionally engaged and gone all the way from Calcutta was most extra-ordinary Such permission had never been refused to Barristers of other High Courts coming to Calcutta by the Calcutta High Court, no matter whether they were juniors or seniors to the members of the local Bar. Mr. Garth was a most powerful cross-examiner.

Our plan was that Mr Pugh would deal with the law and address the Court and Mr Garth would concern himself with the witnesses. This plan fell through for the reason stated above.

UNROBING OF CALCUTTA COUNSEL IN COURT

Mr Tilak's solicitors engaged Mr Davar (afterwards a Judge, who convicted Mr Tilak at a subsequent trial), as Mr Pugh's junior We were however allowed to sit next to Mr Pugh for taking notes and instructing him when necessary When Mr Garth and myself took our seats at the opening of the trial in our professional robes, we were subjected to a further indignity at the instance of a member of the Bombay Bar Attention of Mr Justice Strachey was drawn by him to our sitting at the Bar in our robes and his Lordship was asked whether we were entitled to sit at the Bar with our robes on, when we had been refused permission to appear and Mr Justice Strachey asked us to take off our robes. Some one from behind helped me in unrobbing and I never saw the sight of my gown again. Mr Garth had also to unrobe but he put his gown in his bag

CONSULTATION WITH MR. TILAK.

Before the trial commenced, we had long consultations with Mr Tilak. At these consultations Mr Pugh, Mr Garth, myself, Mr Tilak and his solicitors were present. Mr Pugh and Mr Garth were greatly impressed with the great ability keenness of intellect, strong common sense spirit of independence and the remarkable knowledge of law that Tilak displayed in course of the consultation. They were at once convinced that their client was no ordinary man. Cultured Englishmen always admire a man when they find elements of greatness in him, although they may not always fall in with his views.

One of their questions to Mr Tilak and the answer that he gave them, are still fresh in my memory His counsel asked him " Surely Mr Tilak, you desire Self-government for India and not

absolute independence." Tilak laughed, as he often did when any awkward question was put to him, and answered, "Desire for independence on the part of a subject people is nothing dishonourable and is no crime." He quoted from memory some passages from some English writers as also legal dicta in support of his views Then he laughed again and told his counsel that they might take it that Self-government for India was his present political aim and absolute independence was then beyond the range of practical politics.

HIS VIEWS ON SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

Apart from these formal consultations, I used to meet him sometimes in the mornings and evenings in Daji Abaji Khare's house He was a great friend of Tilak's and although formally he did not take any part in our consultations, or at the trial, yet he discussed the case with Tilak and me and gave us advice. When discussing the case in Mr. Khare's house, I found Mr Tilak always very cheerful and we very often freely and frankly exchanged our views about social and policical questions generally I shall mention one instance when I drew out from him his social views. Mr Khare suggested to me one day that we two should dine one evening at the Victoria Terminus railway restaurant, which had then the reputation of serving excellent dinners When we made this engagement at Mr. Khare's house, I knew that Mr Tilak would not join us but just for the fun of it, I told him that I would order vegetarian dishes and he might join us at the dinner He laughed the proposal out, as I well knew he would. Then somewhat seriously I asked him, "Surely, Mr Tilak, a cultured man like you, does not think there is anything wrong in taking food cooked by non-Brahmans or non-Hindus in a clean and sanitary manner ?" He too replied rather seriously, "No, but you see my work is amongst the people of Maharashtra, I must respect their prejudices and try to make the humblest of them feel that I am one of them. If I adopt the heterodox ways, I would not be in a position to in-

fluence them to the same extent as I could do by keeping to my orthodox ways.' I thoroughly appreciated his point of view and was convinced that at heart he was free from petty prejudices regarding " untouchability which we had largely got rid of in Bengal.

In one matter however he scored over me While discussing social questions, Mr Khare asked me whether our ladies did not observe *purda* in Bengal. I replied that the orthodox people did, in big towns, but in the mofussil, especially the villages, the system was not very strict. I admitted that in the Maharashtra country the women were much freer and Mr Tilak seemed to be pleased at my candid confession and laughed as usual. It also gave him great pleasure to discuss with me the *Swadeshi* movement as a means of encouraging patriotic spirit and at the same time promoting industrial development amongst the people at large in which I was greatly interested.

TILAK S TRIAL AND THE BOMBAY PUBLIC.

I must say that I was rather disappointed to find that the Bombay public and the local political leaders of the day did not take the same interest that we did in Bengal in Tilak's Sedition trial. I saw Mr. Wachha (now Sir Dinshaw) with a letter from Surendranath Banerji but Mr Wachha told me that some Bhatia friend of Mr Tilak was helping him in his defence and that it was very patriotic of us to come to his help but that no public body in Bombay was taking much interest in the trial. It seemed to me that the Congress party in Bombay as in Poona belonged to a different camp from that of Mr Tilak and his party Mr Tilak was then regarded as an extremist although the term 'moderate had not then come into common use. The two terms were popularised by Anglo-Indian journalists lat r on for encouraging dissension amongst us. At th commencement of the trial I was very disappointed to find that there was no large crowd present outside the Court and the Court-room also was not over-

crowded There was besides, a nervousness that supporters of Mr. Tilak might get into the bad books of the police. Some members of the Detective Staff did me the honour of calling on me at the Watson's Hotel, but I told them that the company of criminals would be more congenial to them and that I did not consider them to be suitable company for me.

THE TRIAL.

At the trial our case was that the vernacular poem and other writings published in the *Kesari* taken as a whole, would not support any charge of sedition against Tilak and that a systematic campaign had been carried on against Mr. Tilak by the bureaucracy and particularly in the columns of the *Times of India*, because Mr Tilak's political views and political activities were unpalatable to them In support of our view the attacks on Mr. Tilak in the columns of the *Times of India* and Mr. Tilak's rejoinder to them, were read before the Court and copies of the *Times of India* containing the attacks, were put in. I do not know what impression Tilak's rejoinders made on Mr Justice Strachey Evidently not a very favourable one, judging from the result of the trial But I know this much that both Mr Pugh and Mr (afterwards Sir William) Garth expressed great admiration for Tilak's command over the English language, and the close and logical reasoning by which he controverted the charges brought against him and his political activities Mr Garth was a Conservative in politics, and his interest in other things seldom went beyond his profession and horses Yet he got so enthusiastic over Mr Tilak's correspondence in the columns of the *Times of India* that he obtained some extra copies for taking them home so that he might show them to his father, Sir Richard Garth, the ex-Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court He told me several times that he might not agree with Tilak's politics but there was no question that he was a very remarkable man.

ABSENCE OF AFFECTION FOR GOVERNMENT IS SEDITION?

The result of the trial is well-known. The interpretation put on the word " disaffection by Mr Justice Strachey as absence of affection towards government which according to the learned Judge would amount to sedition, became at the time a laughing stock amongst the leaders of the Calcutta Bar including Sir Charles Paul, the then Advocate-General of Bengal. On my return to Calcutta after the trial, Mr William Jackson for sometime used to chaff me about the Bombay canons of interpretation and ask me why I did not ask my leader to tell the Bombay Judge that "dissension" might as well mean 'absence of tension

The Bombay Jury did not strike me as particularly intelligent or independent. Following the interpretation of the law given to them by Mr Justice Strachey they by a majority of six to three returned verdict of guilt against Tilak and the Judge convicted him. Mr Tilak received the verdict and sentence smilingly

AFTER THE TRIAL.

After the trial we decided that we should move the Bombay High Court for leave to appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It was arranged with Mr Pugh and Mr Garth that I, in company with the solicitors of Mr Tilak, would see them with a transcript of the Judge's charge at the Byculla Club at about 9 A. M. next day and then the petition for leave would be drawn up in consultation. It was also arranged that as Mr Tilak might have some instructions to give a messenger should see him in the morning and bring his suggestions to the club On arrival at the club we sat down for reading the transcript of the Judge's charge to the Jury and before we had finished it, the messenger from Mr Tilak arrived with a bundle of papers with a lot of writing on the sheets in pencil. After we had finished reading the Judge's charge Mr Pugh opened the bundle of papers that had been sent by Mr Tilak from

jail. Mr Garth and I who were seated on either side of Mr. Pugh, to our unspeakable surprise, found that it was a draft of the petition for leave to appeal to the Privy Council that we had met to draw up Mr Pugh with great delight went through it from top to bottom, handed it over to Garth and said that we could not possibly have done it better. Both Mr. Pugh and Mr Garth said that they could put it in form and settle it by tinkering with it here and there but could not possibly add to or improve upon it. Their appreciation of Tilak's ability and intellect, which was already very high, now matured into great admiration and they said that during their professional experience, they had not come across any layman or even a lawyer who could draw up a petition of appeal so accurately and exhaustively after having only heard a charge or judgment delivered by the Judge in Court and without reference to any notes. Such a man was Tilak.

TILAK AND SURENDRANATH, THE TWO NATIONALIST LEADERS, HOW THEY HAD DIFFERED TO AGREE?

I have, during my long public life, known only one other man who could approach Mr Tilak in such wonderful feats of intellect and who was no less an earnest patriot and indefatigable worker It was his contemporary and co-worker in the same field, Surendranath Banerji I have already referred to the Presidential speech at the Poona Congress which covered 90 pages in print and which he delivered *extempore* without dropping a single syllable and that without any reference to notes That was in the prime of his life Another feat of his, akin to that of Tilak, was the speech that he delivered in introducing into the Bengal Council the Calcutta Municipal Act by which he gave *Swaraj* to the Calcutta Corporation and the citizens of Calcutta He was then about 75 years of age, feeble in health and of failing eye-sight with cataract in both eyes He got up, introduced a Bill of 558 clauses in Council in a speech extending over an hour in which he

referred to and quoted the material provisions and clauses without reference to a single scrap of paper

I look upon Surendranath and Tilak as the makers of modern India. In ability courage strength of character and conviction, energy devotion, capacity for work, steadfastness to the missions of their long and dedicated lives, they were unrivalled amongst their contemporaries in the political field of India.

TEMPERAMENTAL AND CULTURAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS.

Surendranath and Tilak were temperamentally somewhat different and that was due to their respective types of culture Surendranath from his early life both by education and environment, acquired more of the spirit and idealism of the West. The freedom movement in our spiritual, social, intellectual and even political life which was inaugurated by Rammohan Roy Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar Ram Gopal Ghose—an intrepid public leader Harish Chandra Mukherjee—the fearless editor of the *Hindu Patriot* during the Sepoy Mutiny Rajendra Lal Mitra—the great savant, archalogist and leader-writer in the *Hindu Patriot* and Keshab Chandra Sen had influenced him more powerfully than the oriental spirit. During his student days in England, the liberty movement in Italy and Austro-Hungary and the political careers of Mazzini Kossuth and Garibaldi idolised as they then were in England, had profoundly influenced him and made him dream of a free self-governing and democratic India. So his ideals about the future of his motherland were cast on the European mod l of the last century It is no wonder therefore that all through his political career his ideal was to secure for India the Parliamentary Constitution of England which was considered to be a model for the world and under which a British citizen enjoyed the inestimable boon of personal liberty and freedom.

Tilak on the other hand, was born a Mahratta and he could not possibly forget that all India had been brought under the sway of the Mahratta but a few generations ago. Soldiers and statesmen of his own race had ruled all India which, in the chequered chronicles of Indian history, seemed only to be events of yesterday. He would not be human, if he could forget so soon the part that had been played by his own people and their achievements in recent Indian history Tilak did not certainly dream of any restoration of the Maharashtra Empire, but remembering the Mahratta rule, he believed that the Indian people were surely capable of assuming the responsibilities of governing and defending their own country, provided they were given or could obtain suitable opportunities. He did not care much for the form of the constitution but believed that as opportunities presented themselves, Indians would unquestionably prove equal to the task of managing their own affairs and develop a constitution that would suit the requirements of the country.

With all their temperamental differences, Tilak and Surendranath were both idealists, but with all their idealism, both were hard-headed men of strong commonsense.

WORKING OF REFORMS.

In one matter they were both agreed and that was that whenever any concessions were made by Government or powers were ceded to the people of the country, they should take the full advantage of them and make the best use of their opportunities. They were both for working the Reforms for what they were worth They, like soldiers, would not cede an inch of ground that they had gained by fighting, but would stand to the ground and make a determined effort to make further advance and thus lead their people and cause to victory They were not vain enough, as Surendranath's Poona Congress speech would show, to believe that they would be able to achieve victory in their life-time, but

they persisted in their campaign and died at their posts after a life-long fight in the country's cause in the faith and expectation that their people would be able to follow up their life-work to victory

PARTIALITY FOR PRACTICAL PROGRAMME.

Both of them were intensely nationalistic but both were equally free from all kinds of fad. They never gave themselves any airs or posed as very superior persons. The ordinary man in the street felt quite at home with them. They never placed before their people any impracticable programme. Idealists though they were they were no less of rationalists and they looked hard facts boldly in the face and tried to combat them to the best of their ability They always relied more on practical methods for overcoming obstacles than on mere pious sentiments.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

This is why they did not hesitate to resort to passive resistance when other methods had failed, and there was occasion for it. The Boycott movement in Bengal during the Partition which arose out of the *Swadeshi* movement, of which Mr Tilak was such a warm advocate is an instance in point. Surendranath Banerji threw himself heart and soul into it so far as it was rational and practical. The other Congress leaders hummed and hawed about it. Mr Tilak, however came over to Bengal and lent his warm support to the movement. There were people then too who spared no pains to divide us into two rival camps. But Surendranath presided over a mass meeting held at *Pandhi s Math* near the Vidyasagar College and convened for Tilak to express his views on *Swadeshi* and boycott, and thus the sinister attempt was frustrated.

SURAT FIASCO

I was present at the Surat Congress and I can speak from personal knowledge that Tilak was no more personally responsible for

its break-up than Mr. Khaparde was for the flinging of the Mahratta slipper at the president, of which he was talked about at the time as the reputed owner.

It will serve no useful purpose to dwell on the controversy now dead and buried.

COMMUNAL QUESTION.

I shall conclude by referring to Tilak's views on the Hindu-Mahomedan question I have said before that his work was chiefly amongst the Mahratta Hindus He, therefore, seldom turned his attention to communal questions which are, besides, chiefly of later growth As it was the educated Hindus who took a genuine interest in the political future of India, he assumed that when the Mahomedans took an identical interest in politics, they would have to march hand in hand with the former Would the Mahomedans fall in with the Hindus in this march readily? Tilak believed that if Hindus went on organising themselves into a powerful party exerting itself ceaselessly for the country's freedom, Mahomedans, when they too had advanced to the nationalistic ideas, would naturally see the advantage of uniting their forces with the Hindus and work in concert

Communalism was incompatible with nationalism. Surendranath Banerji, always firmly adhering to this faith, was over solicitous of infusing a spirit of nationalism amongst the Mahomedans He was never tired of reminding them of the famous saying of Sir Sayed Ahmed, "We are Indians first and Hindus or Mahomedans afterwards" During the anti-Partition agitation in Bengal a large number of cultured and broad-minded Mahomedans were his devoted colleagues and co-workers Although Bengal had been partitioned with the avowed object of making Eastern Bengal and Assam a Mahomedan Province, yet hardly any Mahomedan leader of education, culture or wealth, barring a few who expected to derive immediate benefit from it, made common cause

with Government and opposed us actively. As for the Mahomedan masses, except in places where they were incited by interested leaders, they were favourably disposed towards the *Swadeshi* movement which put money into the pockets of Mahomedan weavers and other artisans and operatives. Communal riots were then few and far between and wherever they occurred, were the result of direct incitement by interested persons. In short, the communal feeling was by no means, so common or bitter at that time although the local Government had declared the Mahomedans to be the favoured class and the Partition had been avowedly effected in their interest.

But the bitterness of communal feeling between Hindus and Mahomedans has cast a gloom over the political future of India. It is said to be the outcome of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. But those who maintain this view do so with a purpose that no further substantial instalments of Reforms might be granted to India.

But a little reflection will remind us that this communal strife is a legacy of the Great War. Mahomedan feelings in India were embittered by the European peace treaties and mandates affecting Moslem countries. The *Khilafat* movement was a direct outcome of that bitterness. Had we been satisfied with expressing our sympathy with our Mahomedan fellow-subjects, as our old Congress leader did, everything would have gone on as before.

Our new leaders however made a very serious mistake in exploiting the Khilafat movement for political purposes. Neither Tilak nor Surendranath viewed with equanimity any propagandist movement which was bound to fan into flame the ex-territorial patriotism amongst our Mahomedan fellow-countrymen. They held themselves aloof. They knew that once such anti nationalist sentiments are roused, communal bitterness is bound to enter into every sphere and phase of our public and private life.

Others thought differently. They sowed the wind and are now reaping the whirlwind.

I am not a pessimist. Men and their leaders are apt to make mistakes. We suffer for a time for our mistakes But it is the error of our ways that always points to the right path. I believe with our leaders, who are no more, that after the bitter experience of communal strife and our internal dissensions, we shall before long come to our senses and close our ranks. When we have thus succeeded in restoring unity in the country, *Swarajya* will be ours without our begging or even asking for it.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

[*Executive Councillor, Madras Government, Madras.*]

I regard it as a privilege to be allowed to say a few words on Lokamanya Tilak We were on opposite sides in politics and perhaps all the more on that account was I able to appreciate his great gifts and services It has often struck me that followers and admirers of a leader standing near to him in every sense, may be likened to those stationed at the foot of a great tree or a high mountain who are unable to obtain true perspectives.

Beginning his life with few adventitious aids but equipped with an indomitable will and a rare instinct for laborious scholarship, Tilak became an orientalist of eminence and a teacher of distinction Further more, he was one of the first to realise that politics, philanthropy and the teaching profession demand, each of them, the devotion of a life and cannot be regarded as the leisure time occupation of a dilettante Posterity, however, will fix its attention less on his Education Society and its pioneer work or even on his researches on the Gita and the Arctic home of the Aryans than upon his reviving influence on the Mahratta spirit and his dedi-

cation to the cause of Self-government in India. There are occa sions when a national or universal view of politics is essential. There are others when local or racial patriotism has to be evolved so that it may serve as the spearhead of a great movement. The manner in which Tilak utilised the Shivaji ideal and banded the Mahrattas into a well disciplined and organised entity is one of the marvels of latter day Indian politics, whose main danger is a fissiparous tendency Soft of speech and, by no means, an orator save perhaps in Marathi, he was firm in resolve and like many great leaders of men he was not over-obsessed by the other side of the case like more philosophical and therefore less dynamic states-men of the type of Gokhale and Ranade Hence his strength as well as his weakness hence the incidents of the Surat Congress as well as his contribution to the Home Rule Movement. Tilak for all the fervid adoration which encompassed him, was a solitary He could not abide many rivals beside his throne and the troubled and transient alliance between Dr Besant and Tilak demonstrated one aspect of his character and yet in a paradoxical fashion there was no one amongst the recent Indian political leaders who min gled so freely with the common people or had such a firm grip over the multitude in his own beloved Maharashtra. Dr Besant, the Ali Brothers, and Gandhiji followed in his wake and led mass movements; but the affection which Tilak inspired, was peculiar and characteristic and his leadership was more real and more pro-longed than that of almost any other Indian.

Simple and frugal in habits, scorning demonstrations but surrounded by them in spite of himself, he led a life of turmoil and cataclysm often warring against the Government of the coun try now battling with his political opponents and often fighting his erstwhile political allies. His life was a succession of rebuffs from the outer point of view The causes for which he worked, were not always crowned with immediate success. He was often in jail and often defeated in political warfare and the evidence he

gave before the Joint Parliamentary Committee in England and the reception accorded to that evidence, are matters of history.

The first time I met him was in the Surat Congress of 1907. I was a follower of those who strove to overcome his influence and his teaching,—Rash Behari Ghose and Wachha, Mehta and Surendranath Banerji and Gokhale. Against all these and with the help of his devoted followers he fought hard in an unflinching and yet impersonal fashion using means which at times were stigmatised as brutal. I have often compared Tilak with those great and misunderstood ecclesiastical dignitaries who felt infinite pity for those that were burnt at the stake In the evolution of Indian life and politics, however, he stands out as a man to whom the psychology of his own people was like an open book and who gave his all to his country ungrudgingly and ceaselessly.

Sir Manmohanadas Ramji.

[*Member, Council of State, Bombay.*]

I came in contact with the late Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak first in the year 1906 in connection with the Swadeshi movement I had the pleasure to discuss with him the question how consumption of Swadeshi manufactured goods could be best introduced among the masses, and as a result of our discussion the Bombay Swadeshi Co-operative Stores was started. At first Lokamanya suggested that if the millowners would reduce the price of Indian made piece-goods, consumption would be increased considerably, as people would find the price of the other cloth very high than price of Swadeshi cloth I pointed out that on account of the shortage of the American crop, the cotton rates had gone up and the stocks of cloth in world markets were reduced considerably, and unless the stocks increased, there was no possibility of the prices going down. On the other hand, all the mills

belonged to the share-holders of Jt. Stock Companies, and it was not possible for agents to undersell their productions at any thing lower than ruling market rates at the time. Hence the necessity of a distributing centre of Swadeshi manufactured goods by means of opening a store was decided upon, and the Bombay Swadeshi Co-Operative Stores came into existence which has been working successfully so far and has been the pioneer institution in opening so many other stores in the country

Second incident on account of the failure of the Poona Bank; when Lokmanya Tilak asked me to accompany him to inspect the Gadag Mill with a view to see how it could be best worked, I accompanied him to Gadag, and at that time all the movements of Lok. were closely watched by the police officers and inquiries were made by them at the ticket office where Lokamanya was going On the way thousands of people had gathered on all stations from Poona to Gadag to pay their homage to Lokamanya. On Belgaum station about 5000 people were assembled to take *darshan* of the Lokamanya. On Gadag station a still larger number than the above had assembled and Lok. Tilak was escorted through the streets ringing with cheers. A *Pansupari* party was arranged by the local residents in an open space gathering where Lokamanya was invited, and when he arrived on the scene, the police officers were trying their best to disperse the people and would not allow any man to stand near the place of reception. Just at that time some officer informed Lokamanya that he was prohibited by an order of the Collector to make any speech or to hold any meeting Lokamanya wanted to see this order when the officer said that he had no orders to show the written order but as the Collector happened to be somewhere near the scene he ran up to him and got his permission to hand over the order to Lokamanya. After this Lokamanya asked the officer whether he would be allowed to receive *Pansupari* only without making any speech except thanking the organisers of the meeting for

giving him a *Pansupari* party. For this also the officer ran up to the Collector, and got his permission to allow Lokamanya to *Pansupari* and thank the organisers for the same Then Lokamanya told the police that as they had dispersed the people, nobody would come forward to present him *Pansupari*, unless the police allowed the crowd to come in and take their seats in the meeting. With great deal of persuasion of the organisers of the meeting, the police allowed the people to come in and take their seats, and Lokamanya had the opportunity to say what he had to say, *viz*, that Home Rule League was started by him and people should join that organisation with a view to obtain Swarajya.

David S. Erulkar.

(B. A. (Cantab) Bar-at-Law, Editor, 'The Israelite,' Manager of the Scindia Steam Navigation Co., Bombay.)

By the lamentable death of Lok. Tilak the nation has lost one of the most important personages of modern times. His intellectual attainments, his rare scholarship, his distinction as a founder of ideas and ideals, and his inspiring personality rendered him one of the most precious national assets, whose name is inextricably involved with the progress of this country towards a higher inter-national status

The Israelite is under a pledge not to treat of Indian political subjects in its columns, and we respect the pledge with the deference it deserves However I would like to make it perfectly clear that I refer in this humble appreciation to activities and services of Lok Tilak, other than political.

That he was a founder of ideas and ideals is evident from the fact that he was one of the first and foremost champion of Educa-

tion in the Deccan. His "Orion" Arctic Home in the Vedas" and the lucid and learned exposition of the Gita-Rahasya are each a fine monument of original thought and research.

I had the honour to know this great man personally It was my proud privilege to enjoy his hospitality as his guest at his house in Poona for over seven days, where I was treated without distinction of caste or creed.

My acquaintance with him was more than merely formal, and he had his own way of addressing and speaking of me. Never have I in my varied experience of human nature and I can claim considerable experience in this direction, come across one who had a richer blend of the noblest of human traits, namely rare superiority of head coupled with usual simplicity of heart. For he was an intellectual giant conscious of his unique powers and yet with a nature as simple and unassuming as it was magnanimous and noble.

He was a Chitpavan Brahman. It is said that Chitpavans belonged to the same stock of ancestry as the Bene-Israel, and ages ago when the Pilgrim Fathers of the Bene-Israel were washed ashore on the Konkan coast after the famous wreck, some of the bodies were found in a condition which was mistaken for being lifeless and as they were put on the burning pile (Chita) to be cremated by the inhabitants of the coast the bodies revived and were restored (Pavan) to conditions of life This is the legend about the Chitpavan prevalent among the Bene-Israel. But whatever be the merits of this legend, Lok. Tilak was the great national architect whom every section, caste and community of India justly claim as their own. His will be the name that shall shine the brightest on the corner-stone of National structure. He was the one man above others whom all Indians worshipped for the rare qualities of his head and heart, for his selfless devotion in the service of his country He was a mastermind that knew no parallel.

He is gone, a Napoleon without his Waterloo, nay much more, as that learned writer Mons. Paul Richard has very truly said of him "He dies to conquer." Lok. Tilak's victories are indeed greater and more glorious after his death

To have known him was instruction; to have served him was a privilege It has been my good fortune to claim both, and I offer this humble homage to intellect, this highly inadequate tribute on the altar of National Worship to the revered memory of the most illustrious and finest of my countrymen, whose name shall go down to posterity as the Christ of India.

Mrs. Shilavatibai Ketkar.

[*B. A. Assistant Editor Marathi Encyclopædia, Poona.*]

I was not keeping a diary; so I am sorry that I am not able to give any exact information about the incident which took place in London in 1919. All I can say is this that at my request Lokamanya Tilak and his party came one afternoon to visit the school in which I was working as an assistant teacher The name of the school is "Fleet Road L C C School (Infants Department) Hampstead, London" The party, if I remember rightly, consisted of Lok Tilak, Mr Karandikar of Satara, Mr. Joshi of Chitrashala and Mr Namjoshi. The party saw round the school and the little children became quite intimate with Mr Tilak, taking his red pagadi from his head to examine it, and so on ! It was a pleasant visit on all sides, especially Mr Tilak's own simple, fatherly, jolly manner appealing to the tiny toto who were in my charge at the time

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Babu Bhagwandas

(M A., Kashi Vidyapith, Benares)

I gladly add my reverent tribute to the annual offering of grateful remembrance the true Shraddha by the children of India, for whose uplifting from their fallen condition he strove so nobly all his life-long to the sacred spirit of Lokamanya Tilak.

It was my loss that I saw him no oftener than three or four times—in the week of the Lucknow Congress 1916 again in that of the Calcutta Congress of 1917; and finally in the last week of May 1920 And it was only during these last mentioned days that I had an opportunity of conversing with him not counting the few words I was able to exchange with him, during the casual minutes of the recess time, at one of the meetings of the Sub-Committee in Calcutta. In May 1920 he came to Benares for a memorial meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, the Com mittee which adopted the report of the special committee of the Congress appointed to inquire into the Punjab attrocities of 1919 He told me he had visited Benares years ago as a youth, together with his compatriots of his own age I am not quite sure but I have an idea, he also said that he and his friends had a swimming competition across the summer Ganga, and he won in the race—the lesson whereof is that he stored up in youth the physi cal stamina indispensable for the doing of public work of the kind he did, and for the enduring of the eight years or so of repeated imprisonments by which the small men in the office tried to break his great spirits in vain, though the six years for which they jail ed him finally in his advanced age and by the hands of an Indian Judge did wear down his body considerably

His last visit to Benares was thus his first appearance there as recognised great leader great morally great intellectually great in fire of soul, in tenacity of purpose in outstanding courage

of conviction, great in learning, in debate, in simplicity of life, in that personal magnetism which attracts and holds fellowmen as devoted followers (and also equally strongly repels others of different affinities), great above all else, in self-secrifice and suffering till then unequalled among the men of similar standing in the public life of India.

The public of Benares were naturally very anxious to hear him A meeting was hastily arranged, on the Town Hall grounds in the open. I believe the date was 29th May, 1920. We went over to the place in the evening, from Lokamanya's residence, together with his life-long friends and fellow-workers—Messrs Vaidya, Kelkar, Khaparde and others. There had been no time to think out and to notify what subject he would speak on. I was directed by the audience to take the chair, and he turned to me and asked, " What am I to speak on." On the spur of the moment I replied, " Tell us about Raj-dharma (the ruler's duty, politics). The subject is comprehensive enough to enable you to say whatever you think desirable for us to know, for permanent as well as current and temporary use And such very rare and unique combination of eastern and western learning as yours, is just what is wanted to solve our modern problems with the help of ancient principles if that be at all possible, in accordance with the special genius, the peculiar individuality and the best traditions of the Indian people "

He began speaking in Hindi duly warning the audience that he would have to slide into English bye and bye, unless they agreed to hear Marathi, which, of course, they were not prepared to do, and he gave us much sound advice on the situation.

Incidentally he quoted an old Sanskrit verse, in support of his policy of responsive co-operation, as it has been called. The verse is to the effect that in politics "we should do unto others as they should do unto us". In a certain sense, the verse may

apply even to the present policy of the Congress. Though it is called by the negative name Non-cooperation yet the positive form, Responsive Cooperation means much the same thing that is, co-operating with the present system of Government when it honestly co-operates with the people for their benefit and obstructing it when it does otherwise I remember distinctly that in the course of a discussion in Bombay in July 1921, Mahatma Gandhi told me clearly that the Non-cooperators do not non-cooperate with the present system of government in everything but only in some specified things. This is obvious also The difference then, between the Lokamanya s policy and the current Congress policy may well be regarded as one of details only as to the matters in respect to which non-cooperation should be practised, and as to the form in which it should be practised, namely by inactive aloofness from the avoidance of the Legislative Councils or positive obstruction inside them. Who knows but that some day when the current policy has yielded up its full results (certainly good and very good in some respects, and, quite likely somewhat ill, in some other respects, for no course of human action ever was, is, or will be productive of only one kind) the Lokamanya s view will have to be synthesised and incorporated with it, for the common "Adversary" should be attacked on all sides and in as many ways as possible so far as there is no risk of attacking parties neutralising each other

To return to his personal narrative some days after the speech, and unnecessarily and a personally bitter opponent of his spoke to me to the effect that the Lokamanya must be a crooked and dangerous person since he said, as he had even before done in the public press that if others deal with him crookedly he should deal with them similarly I pointed out to this friend that if he had been really crooked, he would not have said frankly and openly what he did say publicly; that to me this was rather a proof of his straightforwardness and even artlessness of his love of logic and lack of diplomacy, and that the really crooked and

dangerous persons were those, who, like the "diplomatists" and the "statesmen" of the various great governments of the day and some others, professed the most angelically magnanimous sentiments and missed no chance of devouring their neighbours' vitals. The critic fell into a reverie

I had the privilege of conversation with Lokamanyaji for about an hour on one occasion during those days of his last visit to Benares. We particularly discussed social organisation, ancient, and modern, how to bring about a more equitable distribution of the necessaries and comforts of life, and that problem of problems, how to secure the right kind of legislators who could be morally as well as intellectually trusted to enact the laws which would bring about a more equitable distribution, nothing definite was arrived at.

The veteran leader was looking very tired and war-worn All his life he had struggled nobly and suffered greatly for the helping, the educating and the uplifting, of the children of India Eight years he had spent in jail because of the petty-minded malice of men in office, "Dressed in a little brief authority, playing antics, like to angry apes, as would make in jails weak that human forms melted in the shape divine and hold such minds" Even after his passing away from this Earth, one of these, in a public letter to a Municipal Board, called him foul names This man was probably of the same breed as those who, after the restoration of Charles II, dragged out the corpse of Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, from its grave and hanged it with chains The Lokamanya had suffered also from the unnecessary jealousies, distrust, obstructiveness and uncharitableness of even his fellow workers and the Congress colleagues as well as the opponents who might well have colligated with or opposed him without hating him But, alas! it is not possible in human affair altogether to separate the head from heart, and the Lokamanya too could not always refrain from hitting his adversaries hard.

Well, his days of fighting were coming to a close The last great fight in the Law Courts of England against Chirol in the front and the British Indian Government behind Chirol's back and the failure of the much vaunted British sense of fair play and British justice in their very home seem to have completed the exhaustion of his aging energies. If Sir Valentine Chirol seems to have suffered some remorse for the ill he has wrought, since he has recently publicly confessed some changes of view this may be regarded as a tribute to the memory of the illustrious departed.

When I last saw him, his eyes were looking tired, sad, half-closed—as if desiring and shortly expecting the well earned rest from the long and noble labours first for the educational and then the political salvation of India. The rest came to him two months later

"He tried to save others himself he could not save'—for in deed no one who tries to save himself, can save others. The Wood that is to give warmth to other living beings must first lose its own life be severed from its roots and go into the fires.

I make my reverent oblations to his great spirit which, per chance now that it is free of the weight and the fatigues of the flesh, is doing what it can from the higher world of subtler forms to help forward his beloved motherland.

Sirdar Nowroji Pudumji

[*C I E., Ex President Poona Municipality Poona*]

I am now suffering from the weakness of old age As to reminiscences my memory with respect to the years that have long passed is so defective that I cannot call to mind any that would interest. In fact, I may say I do not remember having come into

touch with him in his political activities, my associations being in social functions One incident, however, I can call to mind. It was during my illness when Lokamanya Tilak was so kind as to see me and when the new Reforms were to be inaugurated, with respect to the latter he expressed his opinion that we should accept what is offered but continue vigorously and incessantly to ask for more. One other matter I do remember of some importance but as it also concerns several persons of high position I am precluded from referring to it.

Sumant B. Mehta.

[*L. M. & S. Doctor, Baroda.*]

Lokamanya Tilak was a born leader of men, a hero, and his genius would have made itself felt wherever circumstances would have placed him He was a most determined character and all his actions were the result of a definite purpose. I had met him several times and at the first interview I was struck by the brilliance of his eyes One could feel the greatness of his soul through the windows of his eyes His personality was truly magnetic, and it was this greatness of the personality that lifted him into unchallenged leadership wherever he went.

I met him first some thirty years ago when the Congress met at Poona, I met him again several times when he came down to Baroda and put up with my friend, the late Mr. Krishnarao Sharangpani, and several times later on. He was a man who would have shone in any sphere of activity His intense concentration on one object led people to think that, in certain matters, he was narrow-minded ; but time has shown that even in the matter of Social Reform where he had led an unseemly crusade thirty years ago, he had considerably modified his views before his death. He had quarrelled with his co-workers in the Deccan Education

Society but when we attempt to understand his mentality we realised that he had only one object in view namely the liberation of his country from political bondage and therefore all other problems looked insignificant to him.

He organised and led the people of Maharashtra and he was accepted as one of the main leaders of the Indian Nation. The Indians will never forget his name The free Indian of the future generations will bow his head in deep reverence when he reads the history of the struggle that led to the emancipation and uplift of this great country

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Durgadas B Adwani

[*Merchant Ex M L C Karachi*]

I had the privilege of meeting Lokamanya Tilak for the first time at Poona in 1914 when I was returning from Madras after attending the Congress session in December 1913. My first impression was that of his unaffected and simple manner while speaking about the topic which was then engaging the attention of Indian politicians namely the means to be adopted to enable the members of the left wing of which he was the leader to rejoin the Congress. Whenever in future years I had occasion to see him in the Congress at committee meetings or elsewhere I observed the same characteristic, his natural and simple way of dealing with even the greatest problems of the day This was indeed one of the outward marks of his real greatness. So unaffected and simple was his manner that many who did not really know him were not able to realise how great was the person with whom they were conversing

Throughout his whole brilliant career which was marked by the highest intellectual achievements and the greatest self-sacrifice he was the accepted leader of not only the intellectuals of the

advanced section of politicians, but the general mass of the people also worshiped him as their hero, and we used to find him making himself accessible to his followers and coming into contact with them as though he was their colleague.

I had the good fortune of coming into intimate contact with him during his visit to Sind, and I remember, when the train was about to reach the Karachi station, his asking me somewhat humorously, if any of the friends who were in the compartment (some of whom were smartly dressed in European style) would object to his changing his shirt in the compartment, instead of in the bath room. I replied that as he was a public man in every respect, his body was also public property and that he need not, therefore, hide it from anyone. He smiled at the humour of my remark and with his characteristic simplicity and natural way of doing things, changed his shirt there and then, put on his head dress and was ready in a moment to meet the huge crowds that were waiting for him at the station and outside.

In his reply to the public address from the citizens, he dwelt on the political history of India during recent times, and although learned, the subject of his lecture was treated in such a manner that it was intellegible even to the ordinary man In his speech before the Deccani community in Karachi who had arranged a special function for honouring him, he told them that it would not do for them merely to earn a living in Karachi, but they must prove their worth by contributing their share of work in the fight for Swarajya And pointed though his advice was, it was received well by the audience.

I had arranged a small social gathering at which the leading political workers came and met him, and we passed an interesting and pleasant hour with him The conversation turned on most of the important topics of the day, and his replies were to the point and often full of wit and humour The impression which that conversation created on my mind, will never die out.

As usual the reception given to him was more enthusiastic than that of a prince He was profusely garlanded and he receiv ed offering like a God; but he accepted them equably and with remarkable composure in the midst of the greatest amount of enthusiasm. There indeed was the man who had a rare combination of idealism and practical sense who was intellectually great and philosophical, but was at the same time a Karma Yogi.

No wonder that he was the embodiment of the Spirit of Swarajya during his time. Among the makers of India he will, therefore rank as one of the greatest.

Lala Harkishen Lal

[*Bar-at-Law Lahore*]

During the last three quarters of a century India has been blessed with the birth and has benefitted by the life-journey of several great souls and amongst them one was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. I have known, at some distance almost all of them, but I don t claim intimacy with any of them, as my own want of self-confidence kept me at arm s length from all. I have always felt a kind of awe to be in quite close proximity to these rare ones of the earth and have therefore avoided them as much as possible Tilak inspired the same awe in me as others did, and I have always measured the greatness of these souls by the awe I felt in their presence Measured by this standard, I place Bal Gangadhar Tilak as one amongst the very few and at the top. This is the briefest summing up of the case A little more in detail I came to know of Tilak in the nineteens through a dedication to me by a vain admirer of mine and the chronicler of a life of Tilak in about the middle of nineteens of the last century Perusal of that little life of Tilak put me at once in the position of an admirer believer and follower The first compliment that I could pay

him, was, before I had known him much parsonally, when I named my first born son as "Gangadhar." Friends of a class did not approve but things passed. Events followed. Bal Gangadhar matured his views and prepared himself for a sacrifice which very few can or could afford and that led to the enshrinement of his memory and of his deeds and preachings on heart's tablets not to be effaced by the Time—the expert chemist in the art of effacement Time and the deep impression of Tilak's life would struggle, but I am sure that for a very very long time, the Time itself would be defeated. Lokamanya Tilak fought for us, worked for us and suffered for us, and left an example hard to be beaten. Many of our countrymen have at times desired to be incarcerated, to be reckoned as equal to Tilak, but we must remember that he had been more than ten years without an *uff*. Are we ready for that? That is a prescription very effective but one must prescribe it for oneself, Very few are competent to do that.

M. A. Jinnah.

[*M. L. A., Bar-at-Law, Bombay.*]

Mr. Tilak was a shrewd practical politician. After the split at Surat where I came to know him first in 1907, Mr. Tilak's party in the Indian National Congress had very small voice and remained in a minority and so far as Mr. Tilak was concerned, his conviction by Mr Justice Davar in a case against him for sedition under Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code removed him from the political arena for nearly six years The sentence, passed against him of six years, was a savage sentence I was given a retainer for his defence and was instructed to make an application for bail which was refused by Mr. Justice Davar. I am not disclosing any secrets, I hope, with reference to his trial before Mr. Justice Davar, when I say that, he was determined not so much to secure his

acquittal, but to establish that the Anglo-Indian press was guilty of defaming India and Indian people, which was as much a libel, and the Government did not take any steps against them. There arose a serious difference of opinion between him and myself as a Counsel, because I refused to adopt any line as a Counsel, except what I considered best for his defence

After his return from Mandalay I came in closer contact with him and Mr Tilak who was known in his earlier days to be communalistic and stood for Maharashtra, developed and showed broader and greater National outlook as he gained experience I believe it was at the Bombay Presidency Provincial Conference, over which I had the honour to preside, that the gulf, which was created owing to the Surat Congress split, was bridged over and Mr Tilak and his entire party once more came into the fold of the Indian National Congress, in 1915 Since then Mr Tilak rendered yeoman services to the country and played a very important part in bringing about the Hindu Moslem unity which ultimately resulted in the Lucknow Pact in 1916. Subsequently he was one of the pioneers of the Home Rule League movement and established the Indian Home Rule League; and in his pursuit to make the Home Rule League movement popular he delivered series of lectures all over the Maharashtra and again he was prosecuted by the Government for sedition; but on this occasion, although he was convicted by the Magistrate at Poona, the High Court of Bombay acquitted him.

Mr Tilak, as I said before was a practical politician and had developed a real National outlook. His attitude towards the Montagu-Chelmsford Report which was ultimately translated into the Government of India Act of 1919 was that of a statesman He felt that we must work the constitution as far as it went and fight for more He actually prepared a definite policy and programme of electioneering campaign and advised the people to be ready to

see that our best representatives were returned to the various legislatures, but a certain section from Bengal and Madras was strongly opposed to working the Reforms. Ultimately, not without wavering, in the Indian National Congress at Amritsar, he made a very well reasoned speech which influenced the Congress decision in no small degree in arriving at the decision that the Reforms should be worked for what they were worth. Unfortunately soon after the Amritsar Congress by the cruel hand of Death, Mr. Tilak was taken away from us at the most critical moment. I have often wondered what would have been his attitude, had he been alive when the Nagpur Congress sanctioned the policy and programme of Non-co-operation in 1920.

Mr. Tilak was a selfless patriot; he was respected and held in very great affection by young India and the masses and during the course of my association with him for several years, he won my respect and admiration for his great intellectual qualities and particularly his national outlook. He desired to serve his country without seeking any reward. He was a unique figure both in the political and social life of the Country.

Sir J. C. Bose.

[*Founder Bose Research Institute, Calcutta.*]

I met Lokamanya Tilak only for a few hours, but even in that short time I was deeply impressed by his great personality. As a scholar he realised from his critical studies, the greatness of India's past; as a man of action he wished to see the revival of his country's ancient greatness Towards this he worked unceasingly with a faith and persistence that have not been surpassed Adversity had no terrors for him; it only served as a challenge and stimulus to his heroic spirit He realised by his life, the enternal truth that when a man dedicates himself for a great object with

singleness of aim, then the closed doors shall be opened, and the seemingly impossible become possible for him.

J K. Mehta

[M A Secretary the Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau, Bombay]

I had, unfortunately never the pleasure of being acquainted with Lokamanya Tilak personally I have however reminiscences of two or three incidents in connection with his life which may be considered worth recording

The first time I saw and heard Lokamanya was in a big compound in Haripura at Surat, where Lokamanya and the nationalists who accompanied him, had their camp at the time of the Surat Congress. Lokamanya got up as soon as Sjt. Arabinda Ghosh had finished his speech and he spoke for about three hours without any rest, in his usual incisive fighting logical and earnest manner Lokamanya was not an orator but he was a man with earnest and burning convictions which he wanted the world to believe in and follow It is true that orators carry their audiences with them, but it is men with honest, earnest and deep seated convictions who carry their audiences always with them. Lokamanya s convictions were based upon the highest patriotism total self-abnegation and political asceticism which was almost religious in its character He led the people on to have self-consciousness of nationhood and he taught the people how to fight and bear and sacrifice for the political cause.

The n xt day was the memorable Congress of Surat, and I still remember though almost two decades have passed since then, how he stood on the Congress platform facing the audience with a bold and intrepid heart while there was a regular pandemonium in

the Congress pavilion, some wanting his very blood and others trying to defend him. It reminded one at that time of early Christian Martyrs thrown in the arena where hungry lions were kept. He refused to budge an inch from the position he had taken up both literally and mataphorically, and the result was, though at that time the Congress appeared to have broken up, it rose up Phoenix-like from its ashes with a new and vigorous personality and thus was the foundation laid for that real National Congress which we saw in Calcutta, Nagpur and Ahmedabad (Alas! now that vision has become a dream again.).

The third incident I remember, was when I saw and heard Lokamanya on the Congress platform at Lucknow where the foundation of the Hindu-Moslem pact was laid and where the Congress became united Congress again. Lokamanya appeared there as a peace-maker and as a statesman with a far-seeing vision. His entry in the Congress was feared by the Moderates at the time and their fears were soon justified, for he again took hold of the Congress, as the Congress took hold of him. The last time I saw him when the Immortal Spirit had gone out from that body which was being taken down from the Sardar-Griha for the last pilgrimage to the Chaupatty Sands,—a pilgrimage which will remain ever memorable in the memory of hundreds of thousands of people who took part in it or who witnessed it It was a fitting oblation of reverence to one who lived for his country, worked for his country, suffered for his country and died for his country. When the flames consumed his physical body his Immortal Spirit must have worked for the advance of the Motherland he so loved, for practically from the very next day the campaign of Non-co-operation began and India came out as a nation, self-conscious, fearless, ready for service and sacrifice and prepared for attaining "Swaraj which is my birth-right"

G A Natesan

[*Editor The Indian Review, Madras*]

I esteem it a great privilege to be asked to add my tribute to the memory of the late Mr Tilak. My acquaintance with Mr Tilak, ranging over a period of some twenty years, dates from the year 1898 (the year of the Madras Congress presided over by Ananda Mohan Bose) when, through the kindness of my friend—Mr N C. Kelkar Mr Tilak very kindly paid a visit to the Printing and Publishing firm which I had just then started. I well recollect the searching questions he put to me regarding printing types and machinary my difficulty in answering some of them, and his advice to me to keep myself acquainted with every detail of the technique of that art, and to persevere in my profession without allowing myself to be discouraged in any way

The first thing that struck me about Mr Tilak, was his extreme simplicity and the complete absence of any thing-like side about him. Regarded always as a hero and held in the profoundest admiration by all who came in contact with him, he could be seen walking from place to place in crowded streets like other common citizens, subjecting himself to the inconveniences of a Madras *jutka* and the more uncomfortable conveyance of the Benares *ekka* During the sessions of the Congress he loved to dwell in tents and even uncomfortable lodgings with his many friends and followers, declining many a kind friend s offer to put him up in better and more luxurious mansions. Born of the people bred up among them, he lived to labour for them and it may be said of him that he was perhaps one of the few politicians who realised that there could be no political advancement in this country unless the heart of the masses was touched. The key note of his popularity and his success as a political leader was due to the recognition of the great truth that a political leader must

essentially be a man of the people; to the end he continued to be that. A devout follower of Mehta and Gokhale, and the school of politics of which they were the honoured leaders, and to this day tenaciously clinging to the tenets of that school, I am yet free to confess that I did not sufficiently realise then the full magnitude of the great work Tilak did for the political regeneration of our land. Alas ! like many a pioneer in great movements and causes Tilak's work was not properly appreciated during his life-time by some of his contemporaries. To the cautious politician Tilak loomed as an extremist trying to advance far too rapidly without recognising dangers ahead.

Tilak was seriously found fault with, and indeed he suffered in person for his part in the Shivaji celebrations, and yet a few years later we find H R H the Prince of Wales laying the foundation stone for the Shivaji Memorial, and later still Princes and people, Provincial Governors and famous Anglo-Indians joining in meetings commemorating the brave deeds of the great Maratha hero Again, when at the Benares Congress, he insisted that the Swadeshi movement should be furthered even at a sacrifice, it was pooh-poohed by some but to-day Khaddar is the cry everywhere. When again for the first time he proclaimed aloud that India had the right to demand national self-expression, the idea was scanted in some quarters, yet to-day, it is the watch-word of the people and the slogan of all political parties.

It will be remembered that Englishmen hated him as an enemy of British rule, and yet Tilak surprised his foes when at the outbreak of the great war, despite all bitterness against Government, he came forward to help England in her hour of trial. Following the lead of Mehta and other liberal politicians, he declared that "at such a crisis it is the duty of every Indian, be he great or small, rich or poor, to support and assist His Majesty's government to the best of his ability."

No wonder that the *Advocate of India* one of his bitterest enemies called upon his detractors to admit their mistake and make at the earliest possible moment *amende honorable*

In the eyes of many Tilak was a visionary and an impractical politician yet nothing was further from the truth to cite one or two instances. When Mahatma Gandhi started the famous Non-co-operation movement, Tilak who knew full well the weaknesses of his countrymen, did not hesitate to repeat to M. Gandhi more than once. I have my doubts as to the country being with us in the self-denying ordinance which Non-co-operation presents to the people" We have this on the authority of Mahatmaji himself. Before the Joint Select Committee in 1919 he did not plead for a scheme demanding the immediate Self-government but would be quite content, if a time limit were fixed for the introduction of complete Self-government for India. Referring to Dyarchy he said :

> "Dyarchy of course it is admitted, is only a transitional system, not a scientifically perfect system. It is adopted as a necessary evil when you have to divide functions, and when you cannot grant responsible government as a whole at once Some devolution of functions is quite necessary and then the only care which should be taken about it, is to see that the system devised is not so complicated, is not so embarrassing as to mar or imperil the success of the scheme We do not oppose dyarchy altogether but we should like to have as little dyarchy as possible"

He more than once said that half a loaf was better than no bread. No wonder that at the Amritsar Congress he openly advocated Responsive Co-operation and averred that " disappointing and unsatisfactory as the R form Act was he would partake in it and agitate for more in all directions. Shrewd as he was, he realised that with all its disadvantages the Councils could be used as an effective means for giving expression to the peoples will. Had he

lived to-day, I have no doubt he would be leading the movement for Responsive Co-operation It is some satisfaction that his faithful lieutenants Messrs. Kelkar, Jayakar and others are now fighting for his principles very bravely, and the day does not seem far, when once again the Congress will uphold their cause and thus hark back to the original policy of the Congress to criticise the Government when it goes wrong and to support its measures when they are for the good of the people.

There have been many, and there are still some, who may not see eye to eye with Tilak's views and methods, but even those cannot for a moment hesitate to join in the tribute of admiration that is justly due to this singularly great and noble patriot who laboured strenuously and suffered long for the cause of the country, with a self-sacrifice, suffering and heroism that would do honour to some of the greatest names in history.

Lala Ishwardas Varshnei.

[*Managing Agent U. P. Glass Works, Moradabad.*]

The first time I was introduced to late Lokamanya Tilak, was in December 1907, at the Memorable Surat Congress by my old freind Mr. V. G. Joshi of Chitrashala Press Poona. It was in the evening time in Nationalist Camp after evening meal, when Lokamanya was seated with a nut-cutter and betelnut in his hand As I was stopping in Congress Camp, I was a bit shy to appear before him However, the moment I was introduced to him, with his usual smile he made me at home I was surprised to see his ready grasp of industrial subjects, quick decision and power of understanding persons Within quarter of an hour he decided to start glass factory for training persons in the art of glass manufacture (teaching school) out of Paisa Fund which at that time was hardly 8 thousands and he induced me for this work in such a way that I

willingly promised as an honorary worker for the institution. When I said the fund was not enough and that I wanted larger capital not less than 20 thousands, he, with very great confidence told me that I would have the amount very easily I used to think of him as a great politician, Sanskrit scholar and anything else but an industrialist, but during the conversation with him in that short time of quarter of an hour and several other times I met him later I learnt I was talking to a person who understood industrial subject so well, had a keen interest and believed greatly in industry for the welfare of the country During the time of his trial one evening at Bombay he came to the house of Dr M. G Deshmukh, one of his intimate freinds. He was waiting for the Doctor in his drawing-room; just then I happened to reach there After exchange of usual greetings I sat near him and talked for nearly half an hour about Talegaon Glass Work and various other subjects. He was in his usual mood, no sign to betray his excitment about the case was to be seen. Later on when Dr M. G Deshmukh came he told all about his case to him in the most prudent, steady and fearless manner I did not see much of him as soon after I joined Paisa Fund he was sent to Mandalay and soon after his return I left Talegaon.

These are only a few gleanings that I had of him but they are enough to convince one of the vastness of his intellect and versatility

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Moulana Hasrat Mohani

[*B A Cawnpore*]

THE IDEAL LEADER.

I made my first acquaintance with Lokamanya [in 1900 when I was still a student at the M.A.O College Aligarh. About that time my fellow-students of the 4th year B.A. Class, had decided

upon their making a confession of political faith openly in a meeting and a declaration of respective Political Gurus supported with full reasons for the choice. Several students accepted Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan as their political guide; some owned Dadabhai Naoroji, a few acknowledged Surendranath Bannerji, but I even at that early age, chose the Lokamanya as the Ideal Leader for me.

Ever after I had continued opportunities of meeting Tilak Maharaj and studying his great personality at closer quarters, as a result of which I daily grew more and more to reverence him. At the Bombay Congress session in 1904, at Benares in 1905 and at Calcutta in 1906, I devoted myself entirely to working with him and under his lead.

During that period I had ample opportunities of appreciating the thought and ability of almost all Indian political leaders and basing my remarks on that close personal study, I can state without the least fear of contradiction, that I found the Lokamanya greater and superior to every other leader in every respect. Of these other leaders some were mere politicians, others only patriots, and still others but Mahatmas, but it was the proud privilege of Tilak alone to be both a Politician and a Patriot at one and the same time.

At the Surat Congress session I was with the Lokamanya till the last moment, consequently the deep and vivid impression of his greatness that my heart received then, can never be erased throughout the rest of my life. When I declare that all through Tilak's life I was both intellectually and practically a "blind" follower of his, anyone can well judge thereby, of that love that I cherished towards him.

Of this faith of mine in Tilak I have made mention in a number of poems, one of which, originally in Urdu, I give below in

English. "O Tilak, O pride of patriotic sentiment, true in perception, true in choice true in belief, and true in utterance

Through you is strong the foundation of fearless freedom by you is lustrous the assembly of the pure and the sincere "

"First wast thou, O son of India ! to suffer the hardships of incarceration in the service of the Motherland.'

"Your personality led the paths of Freedom; but for you, your compatriots had remained enchained.

"Such a magic of self reverence did you, O Tilak, work that at one stroke did the old habit of fawning and subservience disappear

"Proud is free-thinking Hasrat of your following O Great man! whom may the Almighty preserve for ever and a day!"

Chandrashankar N Pandya.

[*B A LL B Vakil High Court Bombay*]

My recollection of Lokamanya goes as far back as 1898, when, as a boy I began to admire him as a national hero. Ever since he has occupied a high place in my esteem as a patriot, as a scholar and as a man. As a nation-builder also he occupies a very high place in my regard, and I am one of those who feel that had it not fallen to his lot to oppose the Government and his own Moderate country men, the constructive side of his activities would have drawn more attention than it has done Of course he had to destroy much and to oppose more but it is sheer injustice to that great nation-builder to unduly emphasise the destructive aspect of his activities at the cost of the constructive side Like every great na tion-maker he had much of the constructive genius in him It was he who not only conducted but founded a number of institu tions of national uplift and was perhaps a direct or indirect inspirer of many more Above all, it was he who taught the nation to stand erect before the foreigner and to demand its rights with self-

respect. It was he who proclaimed: "Swarajya is my birth-right and I shall have it" To describe the man who inspired the nation with that spirit as "a merely destructive genius" is not only inexcusable misuse of language but is a pitiful failure of sympathetic understanding. Whether one agreed or one did not agree with Lokamanya's political and social views, one should not fail to understand his greatness and to adore him as a national hero, who suffered in order that his country may be free. I repeat what I once said on a public occasion in Lokamanya's presence. "If suffering for one's Motherland gives one a title to the gratitude of one's fellow-countrymen, surely none has a stronger claim than Lokamanya Tilak" As the words were being uttered, Lokamanya half rose from his chair and made a gracious bow. On my resuming my seat by him, he took both my hands in his and pressed them warmly, saying: "Mr Pandya, I am very much touched. You have showed real understanding. I feel thankful."

The whole career of Lokamanya Tilak, after the year 1898, passes before my mind's eye like a cinema film, but it was during the year's of Home Rule Agitation that I had opportunities to come in closer contact with him and to know him first-hand. As I began to know him more and more, the feeling grew on me that Lokamanya was not only a victim of much unconscious misunderstanding but of conscious misrepresentation In order to avoid length, I shall only mention one suggestive incident.

The incident took place in the year 1917. The Home Rulers were growing stronger day-by-day and getting more and more influential The old public men were feeling annoyed at the loosening of their grip and at the diminution of their power over the very institutions that they had founded and nourished It was really a sad situation, but it was unavoidable, if fresh blood was to be admitted and if progress was to be made The incident refers to a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held to discuss the question whether passive resistance was a legitimate con-

stitutional weapon and whether it was advisable to resort to it. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was in the chair The meeting was very largely attended and was an imposing sight. Sir Narayan was an ideal chairman that day having been all reasonableness and conciliation. It was due to him as much as to anybody else that the split was avoided on that day On the one hand were arrayed Sir Gokuldas K. Parekh Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Sir Hormusji Wadia, Sir Chimanlal Setalwad, Mr N V Gokhale Mr N M. Samarth and other veterans; on the other were Lokamanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Mr Jinnah, Mr Kelkar, Mr Horniman and other young representatives of the advanced school of thought. Domestic conflicts like this are as pathetic as they are inevitable in the onward march towards progress. After hot and forceful speeches on both sides for and against passive resistance it for a moment, seemed that there could be no solution except a split. I got up from my seat, went to Lokamanya Tilak and asked him a straight question. The split seems to be the only solution of a situation like this. Do you want it just after the reconciliation of the last year?" He readily responded: "No Mr Pandya, that is the last thing I want to have. *Let us avoid the split as far as we can*" I at once added: "If that be so will you be satisfied if a resolution is moved from the chair stating the fact that there is a growing volume of public opinion in the country which looks upon passive resistance as a legitimate political weapon and urging the Government to take immediate steps to satisfy the people? It will state an undeniable fact without committing the Congress Committee to any particular view" He saw the point in a moment and at once replied "Yes that is a splendid solution for the present. Will you mind drafting the resolution accordingly and showing it to the leading men on both the sides?" I did as I was desired to do Sir Narayan felt very much relieved by the suggested solution and at my request undertook to move the resolution from the chair A delicate and difficult situation was thus met by Lokamanya's desire to avoid a split as far as possible and to arrive at

some reasonable and honourable compromise. This incident goes to show that what Lokamanya wanted, was not a split between the older and the newer politicians, but only a due recognition of the new spirit by the older Congressmen. He desired unity as much as anybody else, and it is unfair to say that it was his obstinacy and unreasonableness that were responsible for splits in the Congress and in other public institutions It is due to Lokamanya Tilak that this aspect of his life should be emphasised even by those who may have differed from him. May his spirit of compromise and desire for unity inspire his countrymen and make a united Congress possible !

Abraham S. Erulkar.

(Doctor, Bombay.)

No Indian political leader has wielded so much influence in the building of my political views as the late Mr. Tilak, and that is I believe true of all Indians of my generation, particularly those that spent many years abroad in the early years of this century. He was my political Guru. I will remember how his very name used to inspire the London Indians of those days.

When the history of our political struggle is written, no name of these times will shine as much as that of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. It was he who taught India to assert herself, to demand what is her's by right Before him, Indians begged, beseeched, humbled themselves for a few paltry privileges, for a few crumbs from the authorities that govern our country. It was Tilak who by his examples, by his sufferings, by his courage, by his defiance, taught us to be *men*, taught us to demand and not to beseech; to assert what is our birth-right and not petition for favours It was he who taught us to stand up and face Englishmen, men to men, and not as masters and slaves. This change in Indian psychology, this birth of Indian manhood, this to my mind, has been the most revolu-

tionary step in the progress of Indian emancipation and it has all been due to Tilak; that has been his greatest contribution to our history

We know he was a great scholar of antiquities. We also know his legal abilities were great. He might have been a great judge he was a clever diplomat but other Indian leaders of his days were also clever what marked out Tilak from all others was his manhood his courage He was a born fighter I had the honour of attending on him during his last illness and even though I cannot enter into the details of the passing away of this greatest son of India I will say this, that I never knew a patient fight death as bravely as he did. He was determined to live and he fought death as bitterly as he fought the system of government in this country It was the same Tilak, over again-Tilak the man, Tilak the fighter If we mourned him when he passed away how much more we mourn him to-day how much more do we realise the magnitude of our loss to-day when we look at the chaos in Indian politics, the communal quarrels, the want of a leader If there is such a thing as re-birth, then what India needs most to-day is the re-birth of Tilak, re-birth of his spirit.

Jivanlal V Desai

[*Bar-at-Law Ahmedabad*]

The spirit of Self-sacrifice evinced by the Lokamanya and his colleagues attracted my reverence towards him while I was at College in the Eighties. This reverence continued till the end of the Lokamanya's life I remember the memorable year 1895—that of the Poona Congress which showed how popular work of educating the masses should be carried on. Our leaders took delight in addressing public meetings in English, but the Lokamanya, on our side approached them in their homely mother tongue and that brought public questions directly to the notice of the parties most

concerned. I have a vivid recollection of the enthusiastic scene witnessed in the Congress Pandal in 1895 on his arrival while the Presidential election was in progress. His hold on the masses was an eyesore to the bureaucracy all over the country. Just about the time of his arrest for sedition I was returning from Baroda and chanced to meet a civilian judicial officer in the railway train and the conversation naturally turned towards the arrest and the gentleman evinced his great satisfaction at the arrest. Times are much changed now and the members of the bureaucracy have now recognised the deep patriotism of the man I cannot say I have come in leep touch with him, but whatever little of Indian politics I know or in which I have tried to take part, is due to his teachings and preachings. My reverence for him increased by his sufferings for the father-land While I am writing this short note I picture to myself the Lokamanya standing on the Congress platform at Surat on the never-to-be-forgotten occasion. Our elders then had condemned the position, but if they were alive in 1920, they would have seen their mistake. The man that was persecuted by the bureaucracy-white as well as brown-had carved out a place for himself in the hearts of the people. In 1916 when we were arranging for the Bombay Provincial Conference in our city, some of us wanted to perpetuate the split of Surat and I had to take up a bold attitude then for the unity of the people. Lokamanya was an essential entity for the conference, otherwise Ahmedabad was not to have a conference at all. I had a sufficient backing and eventually good sense prevailed, and it is now a matter of history that the Ahmedabad Conference of 1916 was a complete success Some years after that there were scences of union everywhere, but times have now changed. Loaves and fishes have again assumed a position in national polity. There is a cry louder than before for Muslim preference, or non-Brahman preference. To my mind the craving for loaves and fishes ought to disappear. They need not be the be-all and end-all of our people Let us remember what Lokamanya did in this respect. Has he ever asked for any particular job for him

self or his colleagues or his community? Swarajya was the birth-right and he was out to obtain it. This could not be obtained by the favours of the powers that be or by compartmental examinations.

The spirited independence of Lokamanya was shown at the War Conference called by the Governor of Bombay He wanted to give expression to the nationalist view on the War policy of the Government but the Governor-President ruled him out of order with the result that it was impossible for him to continue in the Conference with self-respect and he boldly walked out of it.

Lokamanya had with him Hindus and Mahomedans, Brahmans and non-Brahmans, Bengalis, Madrasis and others as well as Bombayites and there was a spirit of 'give and take among ourselves. One may be styled a leader and other follower but the leader had no objection to be led by his followers. They had their round table conferences and the objective being common and fixed, only the *modus operandi* had to be decided upon. Gandhiji tried and is still trying to bring about a union of heart; but unfortunately we have now too many leaders and men like me are puzzled as to who should be our guide Did not Lokamanya preach that India was a country for which no sacrifice by an Indian was too great? Ours has been a life of sacrifice -social, religious, political-and if we understand truly the significance of the term and act up to it, there is no question that India shall be for the Indian.

G Hari Sarvottam Rao

[*M A M L C Nandyal*]

TILAK MAHARAJ

In distant 1897 I was a boy of just fourteen years of age studying in what was then known as the Lower Secondary class wh n first the sacred name of Bal Gangadhar Tilak reached my

ears by report, as the first great man who suffered imprisonment for the fault of loving all of us in this country. The impression was indelible. My headmaster, the late M. K. R. Raghunatha-chariar—the good Guru that he was—loved me even while I was in the second form and by the time I left him after matriculating, he had planted the seed in me of reverence for Tilak—the patriot.

I had, however, not the opportunity of seeing the Maharaj till so late as the Surat Congress. I had by that time had my first experiences of political life, having played my role as the Chief, rebel against Mr. Mark Hunter of the Rajahmundry Fame and having started on my adventure of working up the cause of national education, first at Rajahmundry itself and later at Masulipatam. The keenness of atmosphere that developed before the Surat Congress, gave me added zest to attend it which, I knew, would be Lal-Bal-Pal Congress though Pal at the time was in jail. I must add here that the immediately previous political relationship for me being that of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal who put his claim for incarceration on the basis of 'Conscience,' I was just then in high ideal ferver. Two particular incidents in relation to the Surat Congress, deserve particular mention as my reminiscences of the Maharaj There was a seperate camp where the nationalist wing was holding a conference. I went up there to attend the conference A pledge was demanded of all who desired to take part in the conference We had to say, in essence, that we would vote absolutely as the party decided We knew that Rash Behari Ghose's nomination to Presidentship would be contested, not as an event in itself, but as a part of a whole policy of obstruction. Influenced by Bipin's 'Conscience' ideal and his walk-out policy which he had set up at the previous Congress in Calcutta, young men like me little knew the real import of Party discipline Therefore I stood out to get satisfaction from the leaders A number of elderly friends—brought up in the old moderate tradition of setting value on cleverness of thinking and attacking—stood out with me.

I had the misfortune first to meet Arabind. He formulated the policy of Tit for Tat. I tried to reason with him and said that that policy should not be used as against our own brethren but should be reserved for our enemies. He did not satisfy me. After a while Maharaj Tilak came up. I made my enthusiastic complaint to him and said that when our leader meaning Bipin Chandra Pal, was in jail for the sake of conscience how could we forsake it. If the House passed anything we considered hurtful to the country or to our conscience we might copy Bipin Babu and clear out in protest. Tilak did not argue. With a smile on his lips he replied "you may be right, my dear young man. But at this stage we cannot take your advice" There was the Man of Action speaking I would not agree with him but my great regard for him did not suffer The enactment of Surat scenes was eagerly awaited. I had a Press Ticket. I took up my seat in the Press gallery On the day of the split I was very near the dias. From the moment Maharaj Tilak mounted the platform, to the very end of the scene I was deadly attentive What struck me most was the personality of Tilak. To me none appeared so great as he The frenzied requests of Rash Behari the more *frenzied ring* of his bell standing on the table and holding his scrap of paper in one hand to read, the subsequent turmoil in which lathis, chairs and every conceivable object was whizzing often over the head of Tilak—none of these produced as much as a wrinkle on his face He stood calm like a statue without moving an inch from the position he had taken up His unperturbed demeanour can never vanish from my mind s eye The Tapaswin was incarnate before me That was the leader I could love

The year 1908 saw me and my lead r Maharj Tilak in jail. I returned in July 1911. It so chanced that I did not take to politics till he returned. May I not say really that India had no politics worth the name till he returned from jail The words that he uttered as he went to jail were my solace in those days as they

have always been since. "There are Higher Powers that rule the destinies of men and nations and it may be the will of Providence that the cause I represent may be benefitted more by my suffering than by my freedom."

The next great event of reminiscence happened when he came to Madras on the Home Rule business According to my reading of recent history he was the founder of Home Rule agitation. Yet, he allowed Mrs Besant's full claim. As I happened to be the Andhra Provincial Secretary of Mrs Besant's Home Rule League at the time I had the privilege of being one of those detailed to the duty of attending to his personal comforts at his residence in Royapettah. If my memory is right, it was Gangadharrao Deshpande who was his second Tilak's personality once more forced itself on me. Remote Mahratta blood running in my veins, I saw how well Tilak Maharaj answered to my notions of a Rajarshi—the great grihasta who would decline no comfort if available but who was capable of denying himself all comfort when the pursuit of Dharma required it. As he stood up, to address us, a select number, on the situation as it then was, the full force of the great man who strictly followed the injunctions of the Gita was visible in every gesture that he made and every word that he spoke. The man of ambition was not present in him at all. To him service to the Motherland was all that counted. It did not matter who was the leader Mrs Besant's lead must be accepted and willingly obeyed if and as long as she fulfilled the idea of service to the Bharatavarsha. To higgle for leadership when one could not come out of us was not Dharma. I saw, at the time, that some took the whole address as a chastisement True, in a sense, it was chastisement. But in its full significance it was the fulfilment of his one principle in life, the principle that there is a High Power that guides our destinies and that our duty ends with acting well our part.

To narrate the next striking incident I remember, I must take my reader to the Amritsar Congress. "Responsive Cooperation" is

now so much in the air and Tilak's name is most prominently used as the leader that advocated it first, even in reference to the present Reforms. While it is true that Tilak first coined it and used it in reference to the present Reforms, it does not represent his attitude only to the Reforms. It represents his real pose and attitude in all life He knew the great secret of Nature Neither Co-operation, as an absolute nor Non-co-operation as an absolute are possible of postulation in human conduct, especially in a subject country Co-operation' is a word that can rarely be used in a sense any where near the absolute in a country like ours. And what was happening about the time of the Congress at Amritsar? There was an appreciable section of the younger politicians, of whom I had the fortune or misfortune of being one who said that Reforms as granted should be totally rejected. There were leaders like Mrs. Besant who while at first, inclined by impulse to join us, had immediately veered round and accepted four annas in the place of sixteen, there were yet others then headed by Mahatmaji who in the spirit of the old Gokhale and the present Shastri felt that the Reforms should be worked in the full spirit of Co-operation and Montagu should be thanked from the innermost depths of the heart. All the capacity of Tilak s leadership was needed, not to satisfy the small group of Rejectionists—for we were always loyal to him and we knew he would always lead us in the path that the nation s heart took not the path that he dictated to the nation—but to avert once more a return to mere moderation He had truly grasped the situation and had used the words Responsive Co-operation" to express no more than this—that no Government imposing its will upon a subject race need ever expect co-operation in any greater proportion than what it was itself prepared to concede to the people His attitude at Amritsar was an attitude of opposition not so much to the Non-co-operation of the Rejectionist, but to the obdurate will of Co-operation of Mahatma Gandhi Therefore it cannot be pleaded that he laid down an unalterable

programme of Responsive Co-operation for the Council from the co-operation point of view. To say that would be to misread the whole secret of Tilak Maharaj's leadership There have been men who have suffered, there have been men who have exhibited ecstatic courage, there have been men who have sacrificed their lives on the altar of a cause, but the world has not seen many who, in the hour of crisis and peril, have calmly put faith in the purposes of a Divine Power in preference to their own importance as makers of evolution. Tilak was one of such very few souls the earth has produced He did not believe in his own omniscience. He embodied in himself the real spirit of Indian democracy set forth in the most noble injunction "Janavakyam Kartavyam" (The will of the people shall be done) and he never set great store upon his own wisdom though he was really the wisest leader India has so far seen He did not endorse either the fanatic methods of the bomb-thrower or the academic ideal of the separatist independent. Yet in 1907 he was the leader of the forward party and all the calumny consequent on the holding and the break-up of the Surat Congress was heaped on his devoted head. He suffered for the 'shortsightedness' or the 'wrong-headedness' of his own following That was his greatness. If he were alive he would have exercised responsive co-operation by leading the most heroic souls and suffering for them, not by enjoying a ministership in the cabinets of bureaucrats He would accept a ministership only if he could lead his heroic souls from that position.

Sir P. C. Roy.

[*C. I. E. Ph. D. Dean of Faculty of Science, Calcutta.*]

I had not the honour of personal acquaintance with Lokamanya Tilak. From what I heard and read of him and his public activities I entertained a very high opinion of his life and cha-

racter He appeared to me as one of the builders of Indian Nationalism. Led by Ranade and Gokhale on one side and by Tilak on the other the Mahrattas soon felt the requickening of national consciousness which had lain dormant since 1818. Outside the Deccan, Bengal was the first to appreciate Lokamanya and come under his influence I first saw him at the Session of the Indian National Congress in 1906 at Calcutta, which I attended as a visitor He was the leader of the Extremist wing of the Congress and had among his followers men like Motilal Ghose, Ashwini Kumar Datt and Bipin Chandra Pal. He had a rare-power of organisation and his influence penetrated the masses of the people. His unique position as a popular leader brought him in conflict with the authorities and gave rise to violent criticism by men like Sir Valentine Chirol of his work and methods. His *Kesari* had immense circulation and was really a paper for the millions. Lokamanya's patriotism was inspiring and he consecrated his life for the political freedom of his country for which he cheerfully suffered martyrdom. Great as he was as a statesman and politician his position in the field of learning was no less so He was regarded as one of the most original scholars of his day and his contributions in Indian Philosophy and ancient Indian History have left their mark on contemporary thought. His theory of the Arctic Home of the Aryans was very novel and ingenious and it exhibited his powers of close reasoning and original research. Many-sided was his capacity and he will stand out to posterity as one of the makers of Modern India, who combined in himself a great intellect with an extraordinary spirit of service for his Motherland.

Kamini Kumar Chanda

[*M A B L M L A Silchar Assam*]

The first time that I came into somewhat close contact with Lok. Tilak was during the Surat Congress. As I in my humble

way, belonged to the great nationalist party of which he was then the undisputed leader, I was also allowed the privilege of being admitted to the deliberations going on at Surat under his guidance after the break-up of the Congress. One could not fail being impressed with the terrible earnestness, the grim determination, which every word he uttered, showed All seemed to hang on everything that fell from his lips No one who came close to him could fail to be galvanised by the fire that was burning within him We who came from Bengal and belonged to the party—Srijut Arabind Ghose and the late lamented Ashwini Kumar Datt were with us—Srijut Bipin Chadra Pal was then in jail—all left Surat with a firm determination of not being swayed in the slightest degree from the principles that were enunciated by the Lokamanya and accepted by the party I can truly say that we withstood all persuasions and pressure that were brought to bear upon us in various ways and from various quarters Some of us were elected to the provincial legislative councils that were shortly afterwards formed and I believe all declined to accept the seats

The next important meeting we had with Lokamanya Tilak was during the Lucknow Congress of 1916, when the now famous Hindu-Muslim Pact was framed I, with Mr. Jinnah who was the President of the All-India Muslim League of that year and the late Mr Bhupendra Nath Basu and some other members of the late Imperial Legislative Council, was staying in the house of the Raja (now Maharaja) of Mahmudabad I was in fact almost in the midst of the camp of the great Muslim leaders and in the negotiations and discussions about the terms of the concordat if I may say so, that was ultimately arrived at between the two communities, it was pleasant to note the impression that he had created among the Muslim leaders. I distinctly remember on one night Mr Jinnah–and if my memory serves me right, Mr. Hasan Imam was also with him–referring to the 'reasonableness of Mr Tilak' I cannot exactly remember the point but I have an idea that it was an important one

and on which the leaders of the two communities were not yet united when Mr Jinnah and I believe Mr Hasan Imam also suggested that they should approach Lok. Tilak and if he could be induced to accept their point, it would go a long way in their ultimately gaining it. It was, if I may mention it, a really pleasant surprise to me that Mr Jinnah and other Muslim leaders also felt the reasonableness of Lok. Tilak. I believe an emissary was sent forthwith to him and an urgent meeting with him was arranged and I learnt later that Lok. Tilak had accepted their view and thus the point had been readily settled.

It is a misfortune that he is not with us to-day His presence would be a source of inspiration to us in these troublous times as it was on many a memorable occasion while he was happily in our midst and perhaps he could really then help in the solution of the communal question that is now causing anxiety to all true sons of India.

A Fenner Brockway

[*M P British Labour Leader London*]

I shall always regard it as a great privilege to have known Bal Gangandhar Tilak. One of the brightest memories of the years from 1918 to 1920 was my association with our comrade in his work on behalf of India in this country He was one of the sons of India whose memory will live for ever and in the days when India wins her freedom the people of those days will recall the sacrifices and labour this great patriot and many a thousand others made on h r behalf He was a fearless advocate of the right of the Indian people to govern themselves and he thought always of the masses of the Indian people and not merely of the wealthier class By his work the political and economic freedom of India

has been undoubtedly brought a great deal nearer, and we should all dedicate ourselves to the cause which he served so nobly.

Krishnakant Malviya.

[*Proprietor Abhyudaya Press, Allahabad.*]

I deem it a privilege to have the opportunity of recording this word of tribute to the memory of one of the greatest sons of India in modern times The Lokamanya, the lion amongst men, the hero amongst the suffering and a toiling people, achieved what few others achieved in a life-time. He aroused the mind and the heart of the country in general and Maharashtra in particular in a remarkable manner. He it was, who blazoned the bright goal of Swaraj in our country's horizon with the strength, the determination and the zeal of a dedicated patriot It was he who gave us the new well-known and almost common epithet that 'Home Rule is our birth-right' and thereby fixed the beacon-light to our national struggle for freedom. And for all this, no wonder, that, he completely won the heart of the vast majority of our people as few–very few–other men have done in the recent annals of our land.

To write something in the memory of the late Lokamanya, is a task, one would not perform without mixed feelings. His thought gives pleasure, pride and hope in so far as we see that old ailing Bharatmata still produces such giants amongst men. Giants, intellectually, physically, spiritually, morally and politically It gives us pain to feel that the giant of all such Indian giants should have been withdrawn from amongst us by the hand of Death, without seeing the edifice of Swaraj built on the foundations which he had so much helped to be well and truly laid. The Lokamanya passed away when he was needed most But it is no use bewailing that fact. We in India are at war with the alien bureaucracy that rules our land for the benefit of others. This war, in its very

nature, must prove long and bitter But one has to fight it to the finish and to achieve our goal. In this war the late Lokamanya Tilak was one of our greatest generals. And, in times of war the loss of a general, however great and gifted, leaves no occasion for the soldiers, to bewail the fact. Their best tribute to their departed general lies in their following the path chalked out for them by him and in the triumphant army reaching the goal to which he wished to take them. And our general, in the war that the Lokamanya was all of us—Soldiers in the army of India s struggle for freedom, too must follow this valiant course The Lokamanya was great. Let us make him greater still by adopting for our own lives, the ideals and the aims that he advocated and doing our best to achieve the end for which he was born, lived and worked vi• the emancipation of Mother India from the bonds of her slavery

It was as early as my student life that the fame of Lokamanya Tilak began to spread in the land. And interested as we all were from the beginning in the political struggle of our country we followed as closely as we then could, his method of work and mode of fight. My youthful impression then was and it was since only strengthened and confirmed, that while the late Lokamanya lost no opportunity to give battle to bureaucracy and to expose its faults he concentrated even more on training up the men–soldiers, if we may say so to undertake the fight for country s freedom.

The Lokamanya was gifted with a rare farsight statesman ship and clarity of conception of his ultimate end and purpose He never lost sight of his goal. And in the midst of wildest con fusion and distractions in the public mind he stuck to his task, his method of work, his march towards the goal, with steadfastness and consistency that might well be held example to public men of all countries and at all times

Many there were and are indeed who did not and who do not agree with some of the views and the methods of the late Lokama

nya Tilak. But none could ever question the burning patriotism, the devotion to country's cause and the acumen of the intellect and the fearlessness of spirit which bore stamp on every moment of his life From his boyhood to the end, the Lokamanya lived for his country and her people. He made service of the Motherland the religion of his life. The only popular way in which we may show our appreciation of this great departed leader is that we all, young and old, should decide henceforth to do our little best bit of duty to further the cause that was so dear to his heart. And if we do this much, India may soon find herself at the end of her sorrow and stand as a free and proud nation amongst the nations of the world.

Shiva Prasad Gupta.

[*Kashi Vidyapitha, Benares.*]

The Prince of Wales was visiting India that year (1906) and there was considerable divergence of opinion in the Congress at that time regarding the question of extending him a welcome. The Lokamanya was for turning down this resolution in the open session of the Congress, while Gokhale, who was the president-elect of that year, desired to carry it through with unanimity. For this reason he wanted that Tilak Maharaj and those of his way of thinking, like Lala Lajpat Rai, should stay away from the Congress till the passing of this resolution But Tilak Maharaj and Lalaji could not agree to this. This matter was being discussed in the Reception Committee's room. I too was present there in the capacity of an humble volunteer When Gokhale saw that the Lokamanya would not budge from the position he had taken, he took off his Pagri and placed it on the Lokamanya's feet There was no more to be said after this The Lokamanya was completely disarmed He remained where he was while Gokhale went to the pandal and that day's session commenced.

The sound of a tremendous ovation burst forth from the pandal indicative of the fact that the Congress had passed the resolution of welcome to the Prince Then the two leaders, Lalaji and Tilak, entered the Congress pandal.

This is all I have to say about the great patriot.

T Prakasam

[*Bar-at-Law, M L A Editor The Swarajya Madras*]

When you have asked me to write a few lines on Lok. Tilak's reminiscences I have been reminded of Lincoln and his words.

> "That from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain.

It was Lok. Tilak that laid the real foundation of Swarajya, in India at a time when the rest of the people educated as well as un educated, were asleep that he fully foresaw the trend of events that must follow the causes at work in full force in his day His teach ings and selfless work and devotion were based upon the most profound insight into human affairs and human institutions. The Swa rajya movement of to-day is truly founded upon his undaunted courage unbending patriotism and ungrudging suffering for the freedom of his country None of his position in India had suffered such long terms of imprisonment at the hands of the Government and such horried villification and persecution at the hands of his own countrymen. It was he that first used the word Swarajya' more than 20 years ago when that was considered an offence I happened to be in England at that time It was left to the Great Dadabhai Naoroji who was living in England then contesting for a seat in the House of Commons to challenge the Government Dada

bhai Naoroji and Sir William Wedderburn used to give some lessons regularly to Members of London Indian Society. When the news reached there that Lokamanya's definition of Swarajya was considered an offence that Grand Old man of India was shocked at Government's conduct and declared that he would go to India to repeat the definition of 'Swarajya' in the words of Tilak and challenged the Government to prosecute him. Such was the moderation of that great moderate and constitutionalist even in those early days. He was elected President of the next Congress at Calcutta and he did define 'Swarajya' in Lokamanya's own terms. Lokamanya's moderation or responsivism were of the same type. He believed in the truth of the cause undertaken by him for his country. He never regretted, shed tears or entered into any apologia. If he were alive to-day he would have been as extreme as, the leader of the Non-co-operation movement, if not more and he would not have abandoned the leadership of the country merely because the programme given by him to the country before he was sent to jail was changed by his countrymen while he was in jail, under altered conditions or because the millions of his countrymen could not follow his teachings In this contrast with Mahatma Gandhi Lokamanya Tilak stands in the boldest relief The next incident I should refer to is the break-up of the Congress at Surat in 1907 I was seated just in front of the dais and nearest to those who were seated on the platform. The late Mr V Krishnaswami Iyer was sitting next to me I was one of those few who happened to know the origin of the trouble just before the starting of the fracas in the Congress pandal. Everybody knew that there would be opposition from Tilak to the election of the President. The leaders of the Moderate party apprehended trouble They were bound to take necessary precautions and there would have been nothing wrong if they had depended upon the support of good men who were enlisted as volunteers But it turned out that some of the goondas were enrolled as volunteers, deliberately with a view to meet any violence that might be caused by the followers of Lokamanya. Just before the

commencement of the proceedings, one of the Lokamanya's followers—I do not know his name but he was a decent looking well dressed gentleman—came up to the captain of the volunteers who was standing in front of us and questioned him in a loud tone as follows:—"Well, Sir whom did you enlist as volunteers? Who are the men over there that are wearing the volunteer clothes and badges? Are they not goondas? You come and examine them in my presence!" So saying he took the captain to those men to whose presence in false clothes he took exception. This is an incident which I could not erase from my mind although it is past twenty years now

What is the inference which one could draw from this event? Is it any wonder if goondas were employed as volunteers, that there were scenes of violence in different parts of the pandal and the followers of Lokamanya rushed up to the platform where the leaders were seated and Lokamanya was standing unmoved, opposing the election, apprehending danger to the person of Tilak? Is it any wonder if goondas had started trouble close upon the throwing of the shoe on the leaders? Within five minutes there was such a terrible riot and disorder all over Free fight ensued, with chairs benches, lathis used against one another innocent helpless men received injuries because they could not retaliate or run away My late Hon'ble friend Mr V Krishnaswami Iyer who was seated next to me could not be found. Some of his Madras friends ran about enquiring after him fearing he might be assaulted. But Krishnaswami Iyer was safe in his camp within a few minutes after the trouble started. Lokamanya was standing on the dais *guarded by his men. The Moderate leaders including Sir Pherozesha Mehta* soon walked out through the back-doors. It must be said to the credit of Sir Pherozesha who was believed to be an autocrat of autocrats that, with his usual dignity and magnanimity he declined to give information to the Police officer against Lokamanya Tilak or his followers. He described the whole incident as a domes-

tic quarrel. This should serve as an object lesson to some of the leaders of to-day who behave in a most childish manner and who leave no stone unturned to bring their opponents into trouble the moment they differ from them.

The third prominent incident I could recall to memory is what Lokamanya told Mahatma Gandhi in the Subjects Committee of the Congress at Amritsar. When Mahatma Gandhi suggested that Indian politics must be based upon 'truth,' Lokamanya turned to him at once and observed: "My friend! Truth has no place in politics." To some of us who were not initiated either into Gandhi's true non-violent doctrines or into Tilak's so-called extremism, the suggestion of introduction of truth into politics of the day and spontaneous repudiation of the doctrine by Tilak appeared rather strange on the part of one and too blunt and abrupt on the part of the other But both were right. Both were prophets Lokamanya Tilak did not live to see how both could be true. When Tilak delivered his last message of 'Swarajya' to Gandhi in Sardar-Griha and departed from this world the mantle of leadership naturally fell on him (Gandhi) who evolved out of the materials kept ready by Tilak the Non-co-operation movement No movement which involves direct action can be of any effective service without funds Swarajya fund was started in the name of the founder of Swarajya which everyone of us expected to be a permanent one adding more lustre to the name and memory of the great Lokamanya who toiled for the best part of his life in the shackles and chains of our present political system for the emancipation of his country. One crore of rupees was collected in his name and the great truth that non-violence and truth could form the basis of Indian politics was demonstrated by Mahatma Gandhi during 1921 and 1922. To this extent Gandhi's statement proved true. But it was short-lived. Those Hindus and Mussalmans, who vied with each other then to make the largest sacrifices—sacrifices of personal liberty and also of property—are at each others throats

now Gandhiji's teachings of love tolerance self-control and self-discipline have been thrown up to winds on account of inter-communal and religious dissensions. Intrigue jealousy hatred and distrust have been installed in their places. Diplomacy statesmanship and duplicity and indiscipline and self-interest have so soon become the ruling factors of the party system both inside and outside the Legislative Councils. How true have come the words of Tilak that "truth has no place in politics ? ' And how soon ? Where is the Tilak Swarajya Fund ? It has given place to Khadi fund which is declared to be non-political and for the propagation of which complete surrender on the part of the Congress and Swarajyists has been advised by some of the so-called no-changers while they still profess to retain their own faith in Non-co-operation and boycotts from without, even though it is some years since they were formally suspended by the author of the movement himself. Leadership of India is so much divided and is at its worst now One feels that, if Lokamanya Tilak were alive he would never have allowed things to drift on to this extent.

As we sow so we reap Leadership might fail in their duty but the people of India will not fail in their work and devotion. They know that Tilak who had kindled the fires of patriotism in them had not died in vain. That is why young men and women of Nagpur and Madras are offering Satyagraha and courting imprisonment even in these days of worst demoralisation for the freedom and self-respect of their country without heeding the caution of even Mahathma Gandhi. To me they are the future hope of India. They are the people who proclaim to their country the message of Tilak and Gandhi that India shall have a new birth of freedom and that freedom shall not perish from this earth. Lokamanya strove hard to bring about a full realisation of his noble and high ambitions for the freedom and welfare of his people He was a man of the masses and a leader of the labourers With the aid of the vernacular press under his control

he taught his people to sever themselves entirely from the control of the misguiding and those wicked institutions that have been keeping them in ignorance and bondage. He died with the word 'Swaraj' on his lips and his successor Gandhi had done his best to discipline the Indian people within the short period at his disposal, but he retired the moment violence and disloyalty on the part of some of his people were noticed by him. The only silver line in the cloud is that people of India have taken the fight in their own hands and they are marching, keeping as their motto these immortal words :

> "It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us."

They have realised that Tilak had not died in vain and that Tilak Swaraj fund shall not be a thing of the past. Long live Tilak !

Ven'ble Anagarika Dharmapala.

[*Director-General Buddhist Mission, London.*]

To appreciate the wonderful work accomplished by Lok. B. G Tilak only great patriots are able He was born as a messenger of liberty to proclaim the message of freedom, but the people in their ignorance could not measure his greatness nor comprehend his great message. What India needs to-day is the removal of national ignorance. They should be taught the history of anceint India before the Moslem invasion. The life of the great Emperor Ashoka should be made popular. They must be taught something of the achievements of ancient Indians in architecture, painting, foreign missions, in founding universities, hospitals &c. The desciiptive travels of Hien, Hoven Thsang, I'tsing &c. should be translated into the many Indian vernaculars.

They must know that it was the selfishness of the leaders that brought about the decline of the Indian people They must forget self and begin to foster love to each other Brahmans alone cannot achieve anything great. There should be an economic distribution of popular mentality In ancient India I find Brahmans were engaged in different professions. Members of ruling families took to trade Caste was not stereotyped then as now Lok. Tilak at the commencement of his wonderful career emphasised the necessity of caste but later on I believe discovered the necessity of an all round development in the body politic. He ought to have travelled in Europe America and visited Siam, Japan China, Cambodia, Java, Afghanisthan to see the achievements of the people in those countries. There was a greater India created by the genius of the people who lived in India 300 years before the dawn of European civilisation. Indian Bhikshus and merchants travelled all over Asia and carried the light of Aryan civilisation to the confines of Persia, Egypt, Assyria, Babylon and the Buddhist Indian missionaries carried the teachings of the Lord Buddha to China, Sogdia, Graeco-Bactria, Siam, Mongolia, Japan, Java Sumatra, Burma, Cambodia and Ceylon. They made India the holy land of the people of those lands, just as the Moslems of China, Java, India, Sumatra look to Mecca as their holy land. The life of Lok. Tilak should be an example to the rising generation of Aryan Indians. They should travel as students and visit distant lands. They should study scientific agriculture and technical industries. They must live in peace-loving people who are breathing the same atmosphere drinking the same water *Greater than heaven is the birth-place of the individual. There is* a story in the Jatakas that India had a crane taken to his heaven, and after a few days he found the bird unhappy and asked the reason whereupon the crane said that its own birth-place is better than heaven because she found none of its own kind We must investigate into the causes of Lok. Tilak's failure Wisdom should be our guid We must learn international law diplo-

macy, statesmanship. We have much to learn from the British, Germans, Italians, Americans. Why should these nations thrive, while Indians continue to decline? Turky under the present republican government is progressive Japanese are progressive, Italians are progressive, Americans are progressive, Indians who come over to England to study Law and Medicine leave no good impressions behind Rajahs who visit England spend money on luxuries and abstain from studying the causes of England's successes India lacks philosophic thinkers Indians do not give the results of their philosophy to the people of Europe They look with indifference at the success of the Christian missionaries. Indian philosophy is studied by a few Europeans who after a few years' study of Pali or Sanskrit pose themselves as critics and mislead thousands by their foolish interpretations. India wants at least ten Lokamanya Tilaks who will selflessly work for the elevation of the teeming millions So long as there are sixty millions of human beings treated as untouchables, and not allowed to walk in the path of progress, Indians will be treated by the civilised Europeans as wanting in the elements of humanity Therefore every effort must be made to raise the down-trodden masses into a higher state Where there is no love or compassion there arises in the heart the instinct of savagery The Lord Buddha emphasised that progress and development are corollaries of love, compassion and self-sacrifice Renunciation of our egoistic enjoyments is the stepping stone for meritorious activity, without renunciation selfishness increases Strenuous activity for the welfare of others was the ideal that was set forth by the Lord Buddha, and Lokamanya Tilak was imbued with that in the latter end of his career The masses found in him a self-sacrificing leader, and they gladly followed him I hope that Maharashtra, that produced a Shivaji will produce within our own time another Tilak to lead the suffering, ignorant, long-neglected people to the goal of enlightened emancipation.

S Shrinivas Iyengar

[*Ex-President Indian National Congress Madras*]

I have not had any personal relations with Lokamanya Tilak. I consider that to have been one of the major misfortunes of my life. I remember however that I refused to comply with the request of a very great friend of mine who is no longer alive and who asked me not to move for the enrolment of one of my earliest apprentices as he happened to be an ardent follower of Mr Tilak and was very much under his influence and after Though at one time I worshipped at the late Mr Gokhale s shrine I did my best both at the last Madras Congress and at the following year s Congress at Bombay to bring about a re-union of the Convention Party in the Congress with Mr Tilak's party Again after my resignation of my Advocate-Generalship when I went to preside over the Madras Provincial Congress at Tinnevelly I had the honour of being the central figure of the greatest procession in my province I had seen and that honour was principally due to the fact that the Reception Committee had advertised that Lokamanya Tilak was expected to attend the Conference I am unable to contribute any anecdotes or direct personal impressions relating to him. Perhaps it is not altogether a disadvantage A distant worshipper is more moved by the deity than the immediate poojari.

Tilak was undoubtedly one of the acutest of intellects the world has ever seen. And he was a wonderfully practical organiser leader and statesman. He may not rank as one of the world s greatest speakers. But his influence was as great as that of any and greater than most. In the history of Indian leadership he will be known as the democrat of democrats and thoroughly modern in outlook. Besides his rare gifts of leadership he knew how to make compromises and when and with whom He was singularly free from all those personal failings which are so often the grave of national leadership His life was one of intense sufferings and

imperishable sacrifices. But he went about his work without any fuss and moved among men as the humblest of them and not as one who was conscious of his greatness. I consider him as the first real enemy of the bureaucracy and the authentic founder of the then new gospel of freedom from foreign domination. In other words, he was the great founder of practical extremism and robust nationalism and of the fearless independence of the press. The need for a mass movement was ever present to his mind and he was its tireless and farseeing pioneer. I believe it was the rare quality of his humour that was responsible for the misunderstanding that he taught the creed that the end always justified the means. He understood the Geeta in its truest sense and practised it throughout his life and died with it on his lips. The best test of the greatness of a man is perhaps the intense and lasting loyalty of his followers to his memory after his death rather than in his lifetime, especially of such followers as are themselves men of no mean stature. Judged by that test Lokamanya Tilak shares with Deshbandhu Das, the foremost niche in the temple of Indian fame.

Mazrul Haque.

[*Bar-at-Law, Patna, Bihar.*]

Mr. Bapat insists upon my giving him my impression of Lok. Tilak's character I consider it as an impertinence to speak of such a great man as Mr Tilak in my own poor language and upto this time I have refrained from giving my own inconsequential opinion upon the life of any great man, whom I have known in my life, but, however, as he insists, here are a few words about the late Lok. Tilak, whom I knew very well indeed

Tilak gave me an impression of an impregnable rock which nothing could move from its position in the world. Once he made up his mind upon any question, nothing in heaven and earth could

shake him. I always found him just and considerate of other s feelings. On one occasion I sought his advice and help on a purely Muslim question, which was at the time greatly exercising the minds of the followers of Islam in India. His reply was that as the question concerned the Muslim only it was for them to decide the line of action to be taken and whatever line of action they decided to take he with his party would support them whole-heartedly This was an advice thoroughly sound. It was a call to the Muslims for self-respect and self-reliance. This promise of help to Muslims showed the real love and affection that he bore towards them.

G M Jadhav

[*B A Professor Baroda College Baroda.*]

I saw the late Lok. Tilak for the first time in England when he had come for his case. Mr Vasukaka Joshi introduced me to Lok. Tilak who asked me what I was doing etc. and what I would do on my return to India. All along I was interested in the study of science comparative study of the languages and education. One thing I remember quite distinctly I told Lok. Tilak that unless and until there are Vernacular Universities at Karachi, Ahmedabad, Poona, Nasik and Dharwar and also in the Indian States of Kathiawar Baroda and the Southern Maratha Country there would be no true University Education in this presidency

I shall always remember these words of the good and great Lok. Tilak, " You have your mission in life You have chosen a certain lin It is a difficult work, there will be many disappointments and failures Try again and again in Indian India and in British India. You have taken up the cause of education and vernaculars. See that you do your best."

I wrote a number of articles on the subject "Vernacular Universities" I tried through my late uncle to interest Indian Rulers in the scheme. But all efforts have failed so far If it pleases Providence, I shall be placed in the right place at the right moment. There can be no true education in this country until Vernacular Universities are established.... .and to the end of my days this shall be the ideal for which I shall work, struggle and strive. Help will come when He thinks it is the right time.

G. S. Khaparde.

[*B. A. LL. B., Advocate, Member, Council of State, Life-long Friend of the Lokamanya, Amraoti.*]

I have given in the 2nd volume of the Reminiscences some extracts, from my diary, relating to Lok Tilak from 1901 to 1908 I give below some more extracts again from 1916 'unto the last'

Camp Amraoti
28th July 1916

Colonel Morris asked me what Tilak was doing I said he was doing nothing. He asked for the security demanded. I said the Executive Government could always do that.

Camp Amraoti
8th August 1916.

I got up as usual and felt very refreshed. I prayed and sat writing letters, and studied one of the speeches of Mr. Tilak on which action has been recently taken by the District Magistrate of Poona. I could not discover anything objectionable in it.

Train–Bhusawal–Train.
24th December 1916.

Our Special Train left Bombay at 9–40 P M At Kalyan there was tremendously large demonstration to honour Mr. Tilak. There

was another at Kasara, Nasik and all places where the Train stopped for a few minutes. The end of it all was that we had no sleep at all.

Lucknow
25th December 1916

We reached Lucknow after 12 noon. There was a very large gathering of people at the Railway Station. The Reception Committee wished that we should motor to our camp. The people and the volunteers wished to take Mr Tilak in a procession I was with Mr Tilak and got mixed up with it and lost my Uparna. The Reception Committee put us in the motor-car but the young people put their knives in the tyres and otherwise obstructed the car so no progress was possible So Mr Gorakhnath suggested that we should put ourselves into the hands of our young people We did so and got into the carriages provided by them. They drew the carriage themselves and we were taken by a very crowded and long route to our camp in Cathedral s Dharmashala.

Lucknow
26th December 1916.

I got up early in the morning prayed in a hurry and dressed. Mr Tilak and Kelkar did the same and we drove to the President s Camp and saw Ambikacharan Babu, Surendranath Babu, J Chaudhari and others. We met Babu Bipin Chandra Pal on the way and took him up I was very glad to see him. From the President s Camp we went to the Congress grounds and met Babu Bhupendranath Basu, Mr Mazar-ul-Haq Mr Jinnah, Mr Rasul and many others. I and Mr Tilak attended the joint conference of the All-India Committee and the Moslem League. We drove from there to the President s Camp and I had a long talk with Babu Surendra. Mr Tilak talked with the President and the young people. Thence we drove to Mrs. Besant's Camp and saw her We had a very long talk with her and Mr C. P Ramaiyya. Mr Tilak had a long talk with the editor of the Hindu

Lucknow.
29th December 1916.

In the morning we were free comparatively till 11. Then I and Mr. Tilak went to the Congress pandal which was full as usual. After songs, proceedings were resumed and the Self-government Resolution was taken up. Mr Tilak, Baptista and Mrs. Besant made very good speeches. I also spoke but owing to weakness my voice could not go far So I cut my remarks short Mr. Tilak went and sat in the President's tent and sent for me. So I went there and found him talking with Surendra Babu and Rash Bihari Ghose I joined the group and sat talking for a short time. Then Tilak and I returned to our Dharmashala, had tea and went again to the Congress grounds for the Subjects Committee meeting. It was held at 5 P. M and all our Berar and Nagpur friends were present The old tactics again Yesterday they talked Mr Tilak's Resolution and to-day also they attempted the same again Failing in it they said that Mr. Tilak's Resolution opposed to Congress constitution. This was absurd and Mr Jinhah and many others said so, but the President ruled the Resolution out. So it could not be discussed and voted upon The remaining proceedings were of a formal and in part of a farcical nature and we returned to the Dharmashala about 9 P M.

Lucknow.
30th December 1916.

We drove to the Theosophical pandal. Mrs Besant delivered a very powerful speech. There was a large audience Mr Tilak was asked and spoke It was a very pleasant and informing address and everybody applauded it We drove home at about 8-30 P. M.

Lucknow.
31st December 1916.

The Congress Session ended yesterday We tried to take it easy in the morning but so many people came to see Mr Tilak that we got very little rest. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal came with

difficulty I and Mr Tilak were put in one carriage and we were taken round in the city which was richly decorated. They made "arti" at every turning and so many flowers were on us that the carriage became full of them. It was nearly 2 p m, when we reached our lodging Mr. Pandit Puttulal took great trouble. There are about thirty Dakshini families here and they arranged for our food We were put up in pleasant garden house. We were taken to a Gymnasium and thence to what they call the parade ground Over twenty thousand persons were present there and Mr Tilak addressed them in Engligh, and they heard him patiently I tried to translate the words of Mr Tilak into Hindi but the noise was very great and my voice could not reach them all At night our Dakshini friends held an important meeting and Mr Belvi, myself and Mr Tilak addressed it There is a club here called Vikram club Its President was also present. We closed at 10 P.M

Calcutta.
3rd January 1917.

From the Railway Station we drove to Amrit Bazar Patrika office and put up with Moti Babu He was very glad to see us and made arrangements for our comfort and convenience Telang Shastri came and made discussion on Geeta with Mr Tilak. There were three detectives at the Railway Station and Mr Page who is now with the Government of India called in the afternoon and was present during Mr Tilak's discussion with Telang Shastri Mr Surendra Babu was telephoned too He asked Mr Tilak to call tomorrow about 1 P M Bipin Babu and Suresh Babu came with the editor of the late paper *Sandhya* and we sat talking About 8 P M Moti Babu, Tilak and I went to Hirendra Babu's house and with the latter drove to the Theosophical lodge Mrs Besant was very glad to see us and agreed to open the Home Rule Campaign on Friday next if Surendranath, Bhupendranath and Malaviya joined.

Calcutta and Train.
5th January 1917

In the morning I got up as usual, prayed and sat talking with Moti Babu. He saw the Maharaja of Darbhanga yesterday and said that the Maharaja had expressed a wish to see Mr Tilak and my self. We were to go there at about 1 P M. There are some Maharashtra people living at Kiddarpore They are mostly railway servants. They invited us to a Pansupari and sent a motor car for us. Tilak, I and Joshi went by it. They celebrated the anniversary of their club Both of us had to speak. We had light refreshments and returned to Moti Babu s before 11 A. M. We had a hurried meal about 1 P M. Moti Babu, Tilak and I went to the Maharaja of Darbhanga. His palace is very large well situated and well furnished. We sat talking with him for about an hour He spoke mainly about Varnashram Dharma and discussed caste system generally He is pleasant in his conversation.

Nagpur
7th January 1917

About 4-30 P M. Tilak, I, Bhaiyyasaheb and Purnachandra got into a motor Abhyankar Narayanrao Vaidya, Alekar and others were with us in another car We had to drive through Itwari and many people presented Pansupari, flowers and fruits on the way They pressed us to get down but we would not. So they brought all to the carriage. We reached the theatre in Chitnavis Park about 5-30 P M. Over ten thousand people were present there. There was a raised platform and all other arrangements for a grand meeting Sir Bipin Krishna Bose, Rao Bahadur Pandit, Dr Gour Mr Dixit, and nearly all the notable except Sir Gangadharrao who was said to be ill, were there Pansupari, Flowers and Attar-Gulab were given publicly to Mr Tilak. Dr Gour was elected to the chair He made an appreciative speech. Mr Tilak replied. His speech was excellent and very impressive It was so effective that even Sir B.

K. Bose applauded. The rush after it was so great that we had to get out by a private door of the theatre.

Badnera.
8th February 1917.

Gokhale and others settled last night that Mr. Tilak should visit Amraoti to-day evening They suggested a lecture but Mr. Tilak was not well enough to deliver it So I compromised by a Pansupari to be given by the people of Amraoti. They agreed to it and went away. It was 2 P. M by the time we finished. Mr. Tilak watched all the time and I was very sorry as he was not in good health. Dr. Shahane came in Mudholkar's car about 4 P. M. He told me that he saw Mudholkar and told him of the arrival of Lokamanya Tilak and asked that Mudholkar should sign the hand-bill for the Pansupari and arrange for one being given by the Provincial Congress Committee. Mudholkar agreed to do all this and did the needful. He also gave the loan of his motor. I, Mr. Tilak and L. C. Bapat went in it with Dr. Shahane. There were Pansuparies on the way by Pannalal Shet, Asnare and others, the last being of Mr. Abhyankar. They all decorated their places and had illuminations. The all-Amraoti Pansupari was in the Jog Square. There was a big dias near the Brahma Vidya-Mandir and nearly seven thousand people were present. The arrangement was for Mr. Tilak to sit alone in the principal seat but he insisted on my sitting with him and sharing it. There were garlands put on him on behalf of the Provincial Committee, Amba Temple, Amraoti Home Rule League, and many associations including the Depressed Classes Committee. Mr. Damle, Mr. Kane and others spoke. I had to speak also and Mr Tilak replied. His address was very splendid and was tremendously cheered. He spoke for about twenty minutes.

Nagpur–Train to Calcutta.
6th April 1917.

I got up early in the morning, prayed, bathed and dressed and about 9 A. M. went to the railway station with Bhaiyyasaheb,

Godhra.
3rd November 1917

The procession was very good and enthusiastic, with flowers, garlands and fruits. A new feature of it was that at every shop they sung new songs composed for the occasion. Local poets would appear to have tried their hand; they were very successful. Verily Gujerath is a land of poets. Wamanrao Mukadam gave *Pansupari* at his house. We reached our banglow about 1 P M.

Godhra.
4th November 1917

We drove to the Conference pandal. A large audience was there for Lokamanya s lecture. Mr Gandhi presided. Mr Tilak spoke in Marathi for nearly an hour on Swarajya. The speech was received with great applause and people understood it which was a wonder to me I gave a summary of it in Gujerathi and my speech was very well received and it made quite a sensation. We returned to our banglow a little before midnight.

Surat–Bombay
6th November 1917

When we got down at Surat the day was breaking There were on the platform Dr Rayaji Mr Dayaji Desai, Dr Chandulal, Mr Dahyabhai Desai and a large number of other people and volunteers. We were hailed with loud shouts of Bande Mataram and taken to an adjoining house where tea and light refresh ments were served. Then a tremendous procession was formed and we were taken round nearly three quarters of the city every few paces, the carriage was stopped and *Pansupari* flowers, garlands, fruits, silver vases and other things were presented to Lokamanya Tilak. I have seen many receptions but I never saw the like of this, conducted with so much order and careful arrangements. We reached the place of our lodging after midday It was the Dharmashala built by my old acquaintance Shet Manikchand

Panachand We rested there till 4 P M. and had our meals during the time. The procession business started again and we were taken over the rest of the city and visited the Orphanage, and wrote a remark in the visitor's book. We had more *Pansupari*, flowers etc, and attended the public meeting. It was really a big demonstration and about twenty thousand people were present They had to be addressed from six different platforms. I kept to the central one from which Lokamanya spoke first in English. I followed him in Gujerathi and my speech was very much appreciated While I was speaking Lokamanya went to the other platforms and delivered short addresses The huge thing was a huge success I presided on my platform and passed resolutions for the release of Shoukat Ali and Mahamad Ali Then we drove to the railway station about 8-30 P M and rested there about an hour and went to the threatre where Muljibhai gave a performance for the benefit of the Local Home Rule League Lokamanya addressed the audience in Marathi and I spoke in Gujerathi and was much cheered We returned to the railway station, got into a Bombay Passenger about 11-30 P M and reached Bombay soon after sunrise getting down at Grant-Road.

Muttra-Agra.
29th November 1917.

I got up early in the morning and prayed on the balcony in sight of the Jamna It was very pleasant to do so We hurried our breakfast, which was very well cooked and served, and drove to the railway station a large number of people accompanying us. They very much pressed us to go to Brindaban, but for want of time we were regretfully compelled to decline. Dr Sathye, Dr. Welkar and others went to Brindaban and joined us at the railway station. We did not find good seats and Lokamanya Tilak got down at Agra to find our proper seats, but a large number of students gathered round him and pressed him to stay at least a day. He declined but the Vice-President of the League lifted him

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up bodily and carried him across the station. I got down to see what the matter was. In the meantime the students got all our things out and before anything could be done the train started. So we were compelled to break journey at Agra. The students took command of everything. They got a carriage, unyoked the horses and forced us into it. Kelkar and others went on by the train. On the way we prevailed on the students to let us travel by a motor In that way we reached Bharosilal s Dharmashala near Rajmandi Station. After resting there till evening they took us out in a procession all or nearly all through the city of Agra. There were great preparations and flowers scents and *Pansupari* were showered on us all the way So many men were there that I could not ascertain the name of anybody They brought us back at midnight. The Dharmashala was very good and convenient.

Calcutta.
26th December 1917

In the morning Hon. Mr Belvi, R. P Karandikar and others came into our compartment and we sat talking. We reached Calcutta about 12 noon. The reception they gave us was quite royal. They got Lokamanya and me into a carriage and formed a procession nearly a mile and more in length. There were people with bands, garlands and banners with all manner of legends on them, and there were artis, flowers, *Pansuparis* etc. so that we could not get to our lodging before 2 P M. and then had to go to the Congress pandal where the whole assembly got up and cheered Lok. Tilak. I Bipin Chandra Pal, Sarojini Naidu, Wadia and others were taken to an overflow meeting and addressed it. I returned to the pandal and found that Lokamanya had gone away So I went with Mr Jugalkishor to *Amrit-Bazaar-Patrika* office and found him there Moti Babu was out and came later and we sat talking Curtis scheme appears to have impressed many people here and we had to combat it. We went to C. R. Das and the same thing happened there. All the Bombay dele-

gates, Dr. Deshmukh, Dr Sathye, and others came and we returned with them to our lodging. Jamnadas came there and he had great discussion with them.

Nagpur.

6-1-18.

Early in the morning Lokamanya Tilak and I made ready to go into the city. Dr. Moonje and others came and we all motored to the Kirtan Sammelana Mandap where a public reception was held The general public of Nagpur welcomed Lok. Tilak. Mr. Tamhankar, the poet, sang beautifully a song composed by himself for the occasion, and Lokamanya made a splendid speech. There came the usual trouble of a procession. I wished to avoid it, but owing to necessity agreed to motoring through the city. Dr. Moonje proposed that we should drive in Booti's carriage. I opposed it but nobody would listen. So we got into the carriage. A crowd surrounded it and to avoid it we drove fast, but we had to stop for Pansupari and the crowd overtook us. In a narrow lane the carriage was jammed. They attempted to unyoke the horses. We protested in vain. The carriage got into the way-side gutter. One of the horses was injured and the carriage itself came to grief. So I, Lokamanya, G. V. Deshmukh and Narayanrao Vaidya got into a neighbouring house and shut the doors of it. I proposed that the procession should be cancelled. G. V. Deshmukh was of my opinion but Vaidya would not agree. At last Dr Moonje came there and as a compromise, took us through the Itwari in a motor The city was well decorated and flowers etc were given in all places. At a corner we saw Raghojirao Maharaj and made our proper obeisance He graciously received it and we motored to the Takli Banglow. It was nearly 3 P. M. before we could have our midday meal Lokamanya could not go out. So I went in his place and presided over the Kirtan Sammelana. The proceedings lasted till 10 P. M.

Delhi.
20-2-1918.

I went out with Krishnaprasad to see Sir William Vincent but he was not in his office So we motored to Sir Charles Cleaveland and saw him in his office I spoke about the Chief Commissioner here not having relaxed the prohibition against Lokamanya Tilak s coming to Delhi. Sir Charles advised me to see Sir W Vincent. So we returned to the Secretariat. Sir W Vincent had not returned. So I saw Sir James Du Boulay who was very kind and courteous. He also asked me to wait for Sir W Vincent. So I waited waited and waited. At last Sir W Vincent came and I saw him. He said that the Viceroy alone could pass final orders in the matter of Mr Tilak's visit and at my instance arranged for my interview with H E. the Viceroy through Mr Maffey the Private Secretary at 10 A. M. to-morrow

Delhi.
22-2-1918.

I went to the Viceregal lodge a little before 10 A. M. with Krishnaprasad, and saw Mr Maffey who took me to the Viceroy His Excellency received me very courteously asked about my going to England and then we spoke about Lokamanya Tilak s visit to Delhi. He said he could not interfere with the orders of the Local Government. We discussed the matter for a long time but the thing did not go beyond that. His Excellency thought that Lok. Tilak s visit would interfere with recruiting I replied that Ramalila and the orders passed on the occasion had more to do with it than anything else.

Colombo.
4-4-1918.

This was rather a busy day I went with Lokamanya Tilak and the whole of our party to the theatre for Bipin Chandra Pal s lecture Mr DeMel presided and audience was large. The subject

was "Call of the Empire treated theoretically." Mr. Kelkar and Mr. Karandikar spoke after the lecture. We returned to our lodging about 11 A. M. In the afternoon a rumour went round that our passports were cancelled by order of the Home Government. So all the members of our deputation drove to the Secretariat and saw Mr. Dyson who, I believe, is the Assistant Colonial Secretary. He confirmed the rumour, and said that he was very sorry and had to carry out the orders. Then in an antiroom we drafted telegrams to H.E. the Viceroy and returned to our lodgings. We had however soon to go out to an evening entertainment held in Lokamanya's honour by the Chetty community on the grounds of the holy Hindu temple here. Over two thousand people were present and a large number of ladies. The news of the cancellation of our passports spread and Lokamanya, myself and Bipin Chandra Pal had to make short speeches, thanking the people present and saying good-bye...... The action of Home Government is interpreted variously. The exigencies of the present war impelled them to the step, I believe.

Colombo.
5-4-1918.

This was a day of great excitement H. E the Viceroy replying to our representations of yesterday authorised the Ceylon Government to let us proceed and apparently inadvertently introduced the word "Cape" which the Government here interpreted as restricting our voyage to the route via Cape, and ordered us not to get into the S S Lancashire of the Bibby Company. We made a further representation but no reply was received We kept ready the whole day to embark at a moment's notice and that made the position very tense and unendurable. We were telegraphed morning and noon...... whole day people were coming and going In the evening we went out for a drive. Large crowds gathered to see Lokamanya Tilak and we had to drive very slowly through the streets. We saw the old Dutch Church and spent a good deal of

time on the beach. Mr Simon Fernandiz and Mr Dadabhoy were with us. Mr Alaboris whom they call Marshal was also with us, and Mr Atmaram accompanied us all the way,

Colombo.
10-4-1918.

A Buddhist priest gave a copy of his Pali Grammar Lok. Tilak and Vasudevrao Joshi went to his Vihar In the afternoon Mr Sabhapati Mudliar who is a member of the Local Legislative Council, and Mr Rustomji who is a merchant, called and we sat talking There was also a journalist connected with *Ceylon Daily News* and a Homeopathic Doctor and they had a long talk with Lokamanya Tilak. Mr Tayabji and Mr and Mrs. Boga, Mr Simon Fernandiz, Mr Muttu Krishna, Mr Lachhman Chetty Mr Deva naik Pillay and others called. Mr Atmaram was here also.

Colombo.
12th April 1918.

Lokamanya Tilak, Joshi and Karandikar went out for a walk in the morning Early in the afternoon Lok. Tilak got a letter from the Colonial Secretary here, saying that under orders from War committee, as communicated through the Government of India, our deputation was not to be permitted to go to England and that our passports were to be resubmitted for being cancelled. Lokamanya wired to the Viceroy to enquire whether he and his legal adviser Karandikar could proceed to England to look after his civil case The deputation business is now over Bipin Chandra Pal called later and said that he intended leaving to-morrow for Calcutta. I think I shall go to Simla if I do not get fever to-morrow Things are naturally unsettled. In the evening Mr Martin, co-editor of *People* called with Mr Muttu Krishna, Mr Tayabji, Mr Boga, Mr Simon Fernandiz and others and we sat talking for a long time. An astrologer also called in the morning. He has taken note of the time of our question and will

tell the results of his calculations to-morrow. I had no fever to-day. Mrs Pavar, her son Shivaji came and went away early in the morning. Mrs Pavar spends her day with us looking after our feeding arrangements.

Colombo.
13th April 1918.

Lokamanya Tilak and Joshi went out for their walk. On their return we sat talking. We had invited all the gentlemen and ladies who arranged for our lodging and comfort and called themselves the Reception Committee, to a dinner this evening Karandikar, Joshi, Mrs Pawar and Mis Joglekar took special trouble about the dinner all through the day Dr. David came in the morning and in the evening. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal and all his family returned to-day to Calcutta by 7-30 P. M. train. Before that Bipin Babu lectured to the ladies of Colombo on 'Female education' Our party assembled betimes We had a very very pleasant evening with Indian songs, jokes and laughter. We woke up soon after 19 P. M.

Colombo.
16th April 1918.

In the morning Lokamanya Tilak, Karandikar and Wasudevrao Joshi drafted a telegram to the Viceroy and the Premier to say in effect that under the conditions offered to Ireland, India would put into the field from five to ten millions of men and bring the present war to a successful termination The wording took some time to settle The Viceroy has replied to our earlier telegram saying that Lok. Tilak's case may be postponed In the evening we went out for a drive as usual and walked on the beach and met two students who walked with us Lokamanya Tilak had a small visit to pay. At night Muttu Krishna, Atmaram, Lachhman Chetty and others came and sat talking.

Madras.
19–4–1918.

We heard that the Viceroy wishes to call a conference of officials and non–officials at Delhi on 27th instant to call a truce in all domestic political work to collect men and money for the present war and so on. We returned to our lodging with Mr Wadia, Kasturi Iyengar Ramaswami and others. We sat talking for a long time about the proposed conference.

Bombay
4th May 1918

I got up early prayed and sat talking with Lokamanya Tilak, Wasudevrao Joshi and Dr Moonje Later on came Dhanjisha and Gupte. My going to Simla is decided on. Wasudevrao Joshi returned to Poona, by the morning train and Dr Moonje to Nagpur by 1–30 P M. train. Mr Gandhi called later and sat talking with Lok. Tilak, Kelkar and myself about his interview with the Viceroy his reasons for abstaining from and then attending the conference at Delhi, and matters connected with it. Mr Bomanji also came and joined in the conversation. After Mr Gandhi went, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Banker and Mr Sobhani came and we sat talking. It appeared that Gandhi had telegraphed or written to Sir R. Tagore not to go on his lecturing tour to America. This is very wonderful. He telegraphed to Lok. Tilak when we were at Colombo to obey the orders of the Home Government cancelling our passports.

Bombay
25th August 1918.

Lokamanya Tilak came and woke me up I was naturally delighted and we sat talking about 3 P M. I went with him and N C Kelkar to an informal conference in Mr Sobhani s house. Mrs. Besant, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Jinnah, Motilal Nehru and many others were there. Mr Madan Mohan Malaviya came later on.

A joint session of the Indian National Congress and All India Moslem League was proposed and the matter was kept over to be considered in the Subjects Committee. We then went to the pandal We returned to the Sardar-Griha about 7 P M.

Bombay
28th August 1918.

After breakfast Lok Tilak and I went to the rooms of the Presidency Association Nearly all the members of the All-India Congress Committee were present I met Mr Madan Mohan Malaviya and asked how the negotiations had failed He admitted that they failed most utterly The *Chronicle* this morning published a letter from Sir Dinsha Wachha and Samarth saying that Madan Mohan Malaviya had no authority whatever from them to negotiate and that any agreement or compromise was hopeless . . .. Madan Mohan Malaviya apologised to the Committee for having needlessly delayed them. Jinnah also made a speech and the Committee dissolved We went to the Taj Mahal Hotel where C R. Das was staying and Lok. Tilak, Kelkar and Mr C. V Vaidya sat discussing the Reform proposals and the resolutions about them, with Mr Das, B Chakravarti, Das' brother, Salim, Raghavacharya and others We returned to Sardar-Griha in the evening

Amraoti,
13th January 1919

I received two letters from Lokamanya One of them contained a memo about what should be done to bring to the notice of the Peace Conference that India desired self-determination.

London
19th June 1919.

I, Lokamanya Tilak, Namjoshi and Kelkar went first to Mr. Lansbury but he was not in his office Thence we went to the Congress office but Patel was not there Then we went to Sir William Bull. His office is in the Chancery Lane. We had a

fairly long talk with him for about three quarters of an hour about Indian Reforms. Lokamanya Tilak showed him the com parative memo It served as the basis of discussion. He naturally did not know much and appeared ignorant of details and it was clear that he could not study the whole within the time we had with him. I suggested that he should send for us often as he had a little time to spare and discuss the topics peace-meal. He said he would do so as his leisure permitted. We then withdrew Lokamanya Tilak, Namjoshi and Kelkar returned to our lodging

London.
23rd June 1919

I met Mr Nevinson, Mr Ratcliffe and Members of the staff of the *Nation*. They said they would introduce what I wanted in their papers. I had a little talk aside with Mr Nevinson and took him to room No. 131 National Liberal Club where Patel resides and Lok. Lilak was waiting Kelkar Namjoshi, Patel, Satyamurti Horniman and Parekh were there. We settled that we should take no notice of the answer given by a Labour Society to Mr Satyamurti.

London,
1st July 1919

We read the speeches of Lord Curzon and Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords in the debate on the motion for a Joint Com mittee on Indian Reforms. Lok. Tilak Patel, Horniman, Madhav rao Diwan and myself and Satyamurti, sat working at the amend ments and finished them about 7 P M. In between Mr Saint Nihalsing came with three Chinese gentlemen one of whom was said to be an ambassador to the Peace Conference and the two others were his secretaries. Lok. Tilak had a talk with them. Then came Mr Mashad. He said he had secured two members of the House of the Commans to take interest in Egyptian matters. He would see them next week and try to get them to take interest in Indian affairs.

London.
4th July 1919.

Lokamanya Tilak, I, Patel, Bhurgri, Madras gentlemen and others met at the Congress office to discuss matters and see if common action was possible, but no common line of action could be reached. So we dispersed.

London.
(Friday). 11-7-1919.

Lokamanya Tilak, I, Kelkar and Namjoshi went to the Congress office in the morning Mr. Patel, Horniman, Mrs. Besant Mr. Wadia and Mr. Telang were there. None others came. Shastri told Patel yesterday that the Moderates decline to act with us in any matter. We then appointed a Sub-Committee, one on the Punjab trouble and the other on repressive legislation generally. We wish to approach the proper authorities in joint deputation from the Congress, the Home Rule Leagues and the Mahomedans if they join Then Lok Tilak, Kelkar, Namjoshi and myself returned to our lodgings, had tea and went by tube to Hampstead and saw Mr. Hyndman at his house. We had a long talk with him He recommended that we should publish a good sized volume giving historical illustrations of Indian scenes and photoes somewhat similar to what they have done for China and Japan He also recommended that Lok Tilak should speak in one of the committee rooms of the House of Commons. He said he would help in getting his friends in parliament to put questions and in that way get our case put before the House He would write to M. Clemenceau and otherwise attract public attention by writing to papers etc.

London.
14-7-1919.

I went to Congress office. Mr Patel, Mr Parekh, Lok Tilak and Mr. Kelkar were there. Dr. Clark and Dr Rutherford came soon after. We decided that Dr. Clark should have an interview

with Mr Pollock to-morrow and get either a definite assurance that he would support and carry out the policy of the Congress or stand aside. Dr Clark agreed to do so Then we separated, and returned to our lodging Mr Bomanji came about 8-30 P M. and sat reading the draft of the evidence that he proposed to give before the Currency Commission till nearly midnight. Lok. Tilak and Mr Kelkar heard it all very attentively

London,
15-7-1919

This was rather a busy day Lokamanya Tilak and Namjoshi, Kelkar and myself went to the House of Commons before 11 A M., Mr Saklatwala met us in the entrance lobby and introduced us to Mr Adamson who took us to his room. Diwan Madhavrao and his private servant also went with us. So did Patel and Mr Keating We sat talking with Mr Adamson for about an hour and took leave promising to call again. Mrs. Besant, Mr Wadia Mr Telang and Mr Graham Pole came there to see Mr Adamson about the time we left. I went to the Congress office. The British Committee had a meeting there. Mr Pollock resigned and in his place was put the lady who was his assistant. She was appointed editor of *India* with Kelkar as her honorary associate Then we held a meeting of our own. Mr Parekh, Mr Jinnah and Mr Bhurgri attended it. After the meeting we returned to our lodging and made arrangements about securing the full report of the proceedings of the Joint Committee which, contrary to the public announcement made in the papers, commenced its sittings to-day The public were not admitted.

London.
17-7-1919

Lokamanya Tilak went out with Namjoshi and returned about 2 P M. Diwan Madhavrao and Dr Bhat came and sat talking They wished to start afresh and take up a new kind of agitation. I thought that could not be done as the mandate given by the Con

gress was clear and precise. The Diwansahib was of opinion that we could go beyond the mandate I thought we could not. Lokamanya Tilak agreed with me and said the same thing. Then Diwansahib read the evidence of Sir James Meston, and took nearly two hours to go through it.

London.
21-9-1919.

D. N. Banerji came about 9-30 A. M. Lok. Tilak, myself and Kelkar were sitting together when he came. He congratulated Kelkar on the improvement of the tone of *India*. Mr. Parekh came and found fault with a review which appeared in the last number of *India* This raised a discussion. Then came Patel. We all had a midday meal together and sat talking when Dr. Sathye of Bombay came with the Deshmukhs of Berar and Dr. Chandrachuda of Poona Then we went to Hyde Park and saw the great demonstration against profiteering Mr. Hyndman was there. We met Mr. Kamat There were more than 10 platforms, many speakers and processions with banners etc.

London.
15-10-1919.

About 4 P. M I went out with Lok Tilak and Namjoshi first to Fleet Street to a firm which sells printing machinery and thence to our Congress office. The question to be considered was as to who should be left in charge of the Deputation work after the bulk of the members depart Lokamanya Tilak proposed the name of Mr Patel and I seconded him. Diwan Madhavrao and A. Rangaswami hesitated but Mr Patel was ultimately elected to remain here until the bill was finally passed Then about 6 P M. I, Lok. Tilak, Patel, Kelkar and Dr. Mehta and Diwan went by tube, to Hampstead and walked to the house of Dr. Clark We made a few mistakes on the way but reached safe after a little accident not worth mentioning to Lok Tilak Dr. Clark gave us an excellent dinner providing non-meat diet. Mr. Horniman and A. Ranga-

swami came later Mr Fisher of Australia was a guest and so was Mr Hyndman. The party was very pleasant and we had a very enjoyable evening We returned by tube to Charing Cross and thence by the underground route to our lodging about 11 P M.

London.
17-10-1919

Mr Kelkar Dr Welkar and a few others of our deputation went on what is described as Western Tour Lokamanya Tilak and I with Namjoshi went out in the afternoon to the Fleet Street where Lok. Tilak had a long consultation with a gentleman on the making of Marathi types. He complimented Lokamanya on the simple method derived by him. Thence we went to the Congress Committee. The attendance was not large and Mr Patel was said to be ill and therefore absent. Dr Clark's annual report was passed and a resolution against Lord Selborne was adopted, as he in contravention of his own earlier ruling allowed Sir M. O'Dwyer to talk of his Punjab administration. We then returned to our lodging

London.
6-11-1919

This was another very busy day I made early ready to go out with Lok. Tilak and party We drove in batches with all things except mine to Liverpool Street Station. On the platform were assembled nearly all the Indians at present in England and Lok. Tilak received a grand ovation. They gave him fruits, flowers, garlands and sweets. Indian and English ladies vied with each other in doing him honour Dr Clark Patel, Blizard and all were there. We said good bye to Lok. Tilak, Kelkar Dr Welkar Namjoshi and Wasudevrao Joshi. There were members of other deputations also I said good-bye to such of them as I met and Lok. Tilak's train went away in a loud cheer raised by all on the platform. Most Indians were in picturesque Indian dresses.

Delhi.
22-3-1920.

After the Council, I and Patel went to Lok Tilak near the Favara, and went later on with him to Hakim Ajmalkhan, Gandhi, Malaviya, Shoukat Ali, Abdul Bari, Kichlu, Chanda, K. V. Iyengar and many others came there and talked about Khilafat. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya spoke at great length. Lala Lajpat Rai was more practical and so was Harkishen Lal, but Gandhi trotted out his Satyagraha hobby. So Lok Tilak and I left. Lok. Tilak was taken in a grand procession and it was really worth seeing. The enthusiasm shown was really very great and Delhi resounded with the cries of "Tilak Maharaj-ki Jai." After nearly two hours in the procession, we reached the place of meeting about 7 P. M. and a protest was recorded against Delhi not being represented in the legislature. An address was presented to Lok. Tilak and he was called upon to preside. He had to do it and made a fine rousing speech. The whole thing was very successful.

Akola Train.
29th July 1920

I went to Bar Room and sat talking with the people there They asked me about Lok Tilak's health, and showed me a telegram received by Mr Bapat pleader I was not much impressed by it but later I received a telegram myself saying that Lokamanya's condition was critical So I returned to Vyankat's house, sent for Pandurangpant Tekade who brought with him Puradopadhyaya Shastri We looked into the horoscope of Lokamanya. Pandurangpant Tekade thought that Lokamanya's life was in danger Puradopadhyaya Shastri said that the danger would or could be avoided The danger is real but may be avoided There would be great trouble and anxiety on account of it I made ready and drove to the railway station, about 6 P M There was an untoward rumour going round that Lokamanya had passed off. I

spoke to the Station-Master He said he had consulted Rammal and was of opinion that Lokamanya was safe This encouraged me and I got into the train for Bombay with my servant Vishwanath. Bapuji Aney was also in the train and so was Bapat. Mr Dastane and his friends came to the platform with milk etc. for me and en quired anxiously about Lokamanya s health. They said they made frequent enquiries by wire At Kalyan a little before day-break, I enquired of some people I saw on the platform about Loka manya s health and reaching Bombay; soon after I motored with Aney to Sardar-Griha.

Bombay
30th July 1920

At Sardar-Griha I and Bapuji Aney sat talking with N C. Kelkar Khadilkar Dr Sathye, Dr Deshmukh, Dr Nanasaheb Desh mukh, Dr.Moonje and many others. I was not able to see Lok. Tilak till the Doctors permitted, and that was in the afternoon. I do not think Lokamanya recognised me though he folded his hands and made *namaskar* I saw him again in the morning The danger appeared to be over but great care would have to be taken for sometime at least till 3rd August next. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar Mr Gandhi, Mrs. Saraladevi and many others called to enquire. Mr Jinnah came in the evening Dr Baba Paranjape was there. C. V Vaidya, Laxmanrao Deshpande Mr Bapat and others too many to mention were there. Gangadharrao Deshpande was also there.

Bombay
31st July 1920.

To-day is one of the few days in my life the record of which is black in the extreme. I got up in the morning prayed and took a turn upstairs and found that Lokamanya was slightly better So after talking with Dr Sathye and Dr Deshmukh I sat talking of astrology with C V Vaidya. In the afternoon I got a letter from Pandurangpant Tekade and our astrologer of Akola (Puradopa-

dhyaya) and they gave no hope of Lokamanya's life. I again went through the calculations and C. V. Vaidya thought that Lokamanya's life was safe though there may be trouble. Things went on that way. It rained in the evening. I lay down to sleep between 9 to 10 P. M., when I was called upstairs. On going there Dr. Nanasaheb Deshmukh told me that Lokamanya's illness had taken a very unfortunate turn and anything may happen at any time. Dr. G. V. Deshmukh and Dr Sathye said the same thing and Dr. Bhadkamker agreed with them. Lokamanya was breathing hard with noise of a peculiar kind in the thorat. So the end appeared near. I administered *Hemagarbha* in green ginger. The Doctors tried what they called their last remedy by injecting some medicine into the spinal cord. It brought out some whitish substance and is said to have relieved the pressure on the brain. I wished to administer another dose of *Hemagarbha*, but before I could do so he expired and there was a cry of pain from all in the room, soon to be taken up by all outside and crowds gathered desirous of looking their last on the remains of Lokamanya The end came about 12–40 mid–night There was trouble after that such as I cannot describe. When the confusion subsided a bit we had numerous consultations, talks and discussions about the arrangements for the funeral. Dr. Sathye went to the Police Commissioner and other authorities to arrange for the cremation taking place on the sea–beach near Chaupati. We prepared the body and put it in the proper posture. People wished to come in and have a look. I told them it would be kept lying in state after sunrise. Gandhi came and saw the body In this way the night passed Mr. Shoukat Ali came with a companion, and the day dawned.

Poona,

4th August 1920.

Last night I went to Victoria Terminus with Dhondopant (Baba) and all the members of the Tilak family about 11–30. There we found that Poona people had arranged for a special train to convey

the remains (bones) of the Lokamanya. We had to wait till 2-30 A.M. and then got into the Special Train. On reaching Kirkee, early morning there was tremendously a large procession. Lokamanya's bones were enclosed in a sandle wood box, were placed near a life size picture of his own, and carried in a mournful procession. All walked bareheaded and without shoes. Upasani, Belvi and very large number walked behind and young men requested every body on the way to uncover and everybody complied.

Babu Piyush Kanti Ghose

[*Proprietor and Managing Editor Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta*]

My acquaintance with Lokamanya Tilak dates back to a period which is about 40 years ago On this occasion Lok. Tilak visited Calcutta specially to form the personal acquaintance of my revered father Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose. Indeed he was so much charmed by the personality of my revered father that he thought it to be his sacred duty to come in direct touch with him as early as he could manage My father was at that time living in the hill station called Deoghar but he came to Calcutta by appointment to see a person who was so dear to him at heart. I still faintly remember the incident of the meeting of these two ardent patriots who undeterred by favour or frown, dedicated themselves whole-heartedly to the service of the country One belonged to Maharashtra and the other to Bengal, places which are hundreds of miles apart. But the pulsation and the throbbing of the heart in both were the same the vibrations were the same and both were drawn to each other by an irresistible impulse and affinity which only those who have the similarity of hearts and sentiments can feel.

Well, Lok. Tilak was to arrive at our house at Baghbazar in the morning at 8. At half past 7 my revered father grew

restless and was pacing up and down the verandah in the upper storey facing the street. Slowly it was 8, but the carriage conveying Lok. Tilak from the railway station was not yet in view As the train arrived a little late on that day Lok Tilak reached our house at about 9 As soon as the carriage was in sight my revered father took his position at the gate of our house. On the the arrival of the carriage Lok. Tilak was practically drawn out of it or it may be he himself jumped out of it and before any words were spoken he was locked up in the bosom of my revered father, how long I do not remember. But I soon found that both were having deep breaths in the exuberance of their hearts and tears were trickling down their cheeks. The passers-by and the crowd that had collected at the place by the time of course wondered as to who this person, with Mahratta dress on, might be to my father to be recipient of so much affection from him. This is the incident of the meeting of the two great patriots, in fact the amalgamation of Maharashtra with Bengal at heart and since then the general public have all along noted with satisfaction how these two great people had thought together and worked together.

Since the time Lok Tilak came in personal touch with my revered father the *Patrika* office began to be regarded by our Maharashtra friends as their own home and I am glad to say that as a junior member of the house I had the unique satisfaction of serving many estimable persons from the Mahratta country in our house Indeed, Lok Tilak whenever he had the occasion of coming to Calcutta either for attending the Congress or for any other purpose, always graced our humble house with his amiable presence and used to stay with us as a member of the family. He was, however, a Hindu of the orthodox type and, though earnestly requested, he would never take any food cooked by the Bengali Brahmans engaged in our family as he used to say that most of them were fallen having taken fish and flesh So either he cooked his food himself or this part of the duty was kindly performed by

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on the day of its arrival at his home. It was in this way that he came to form a saintly reverence for my revered father and looked upon him as his political Guru. In what light he regarded my revered father has been aptly described by Mr. Tilak himself. At the 6th anniversary meeting to commemorate the ascension of my revered father, held in Calcutta, in January, 1918, Mr. Tilak, as President, among other things spoke, as follows —

"I had the pleasure and honour of being personally acquainted with Shishir Babu. I have learnt many lessons sitting at his feet. I revered him as my father and venture again to say that he, in return, loved me as his son. I can call to mind many an interview that I had with him at the *Patrika* office some of which lasted for hours. I have distinct recollections of what he told me of his experiences as a journalist with tears in his eyes and sympathy in his words. I then requested him, I remember now, to put down those incidents, at least to leave notes in writing, so that they might serve the future historian of the country or even the writer of his life."

It would thus appear how closely we were connected with Lok. Tilak. In the *Patrika* much has been written about him from time to time. Here I shall, however, quote only two incidents in the life of Lok Tilak as described by my revered uncle, Babu Moti Lal Ghose, showing the nobility of his soul and the grandeur of his character. This first incident relates to the Surat Congress. My uncle says .—

"The blame of the break-up of the Congress at Surat in December 1907 has been sought to be fastened on Mr. Tilak by his political opponents He was nick-named as the "Congress-breaker." But in this matter, he did not take one step without consulting me He dragged me to Surat though I was then ill, and he and I and some other friends settled our plan of work. But I remained in the background and Tilak, as the leader, had to come to the

Mr V G Joshi of the Poona Chitra-Shala Press who usually used to accompany Lok. Tilak whenever he visited Calcutta.

From the close familiarity I had the opportunity of having with Lok. Tilak I observed one special trait in his character Being a young man and having not then much knowledge of politics I had not the capacity of estimating his sterling merits in that branch of knowledge But I never failed to be struck with his childlike simplicity Though I knew him to be a great man it gave me immeasurable pleasure when I found him not unfrequently conversing with me as a friend on different topics It was on one of these occasions that he told me how he came to be so ardently attracted towards my revered father He said that from his younger days he used to make a voracious study of the *Amrit Bazaar Patrika* since the time it was made a half-English and half-Bengali organ. He was struck by its three peculiarities, namely (1) that it struck a new note in the political world of India for the first time—that is "we are we and they are they that is to say our interests and those of the rulers were quite distinct and conflicting and if we wanted to improve our position in the country we must do it by our own efforts, we could never hope to do it by cringing appeals to Government as depending on their sweet-will (2) its cutting sarcasm and witticism in attacking government men and measures; and (3) its peculiar English language, that is to say though the paper was written in English the language was not exactly English but Indo-English, indeed the language was transformed to suit the Indian sentiments and oftentimes words were coined after the manner of the vernaculars of India.

In fact the above peculiarities of the paper so much struck Mr Tilak even in the younger days that he very shortly became its diligent reader and began to enquire about its wonderful editor Mr Tilak used to say that he came to acquire so much fascination for the paper that every week he sat for it with feverish impatience

on the day of its arrival at his home. It was in this way that he came to form a saintly reverence for my revered father and looked upon him as his political Guru. In what light he regarded my revered father has been aptly described by Mr. Tilak himself. At the 6th anniversary meeting to commemorate the ascension of my revered father, held in Calcutta, in January, 1918, Mr. Tilak, as President, among other things spoke, as follows.—

"I had the pleasure and honour of being personally acquainted with Shishir Babu. I have learnt many lessons sitting at his feet. I revered him as my father and venture again to say that he, in return, loved me as his son. I can call to mind many an interview that I had with him at the *Patrika* office some of which lasted for hours I have distinct recollections of what he told me of his experiences as a journalist with tears in his eyes and sympathy in his words. I then requested him, I remember now, to put down those incidents, at least to leave notes in writing, so that they might serve the future historian of the country or even the writer of his life."

It would thus appear how closely we were connected with Lok. Tilak. In the *Patrika* much has been written about him from time to time. Here I shall, however, quote only two incidents in the life of Lok. Tilak as described by my revered uncle, Babu Moti Lal Ghose, showing the nobility of his soul and the grandeur of his character. This first incident relates to the Surat Congress. My uncle says .—

"The blame of the break-up of the Congress at Surat in December 1907 has been sought to be fastened on Mr. Tilak by his political opponents He was nick-named as the "Congress-breaker." But in this matter, he did not take one step without consulting me He dragged me to Surat though I was then ill, and he and I and some other friends settled our plan of work. But I remained in the background and Tilak, as the leader, had to come to the

front. All that the Nationalists wanted the Moderate leaders to do was either to withdraw some offensive expressions which the President-elect had used towards them in one of his speeches at a meeting of the Viceregal Council or to permit them to enter a protest against the same in the Congress. When this was proposed, the Moderate leaders were furious. Sir Pherozesha Mehta was specially intolerant in his tone and behaviour when we made an attempt to compromise the matter and later on he refused to see Mr Tilak, when by appointment he went over to his place to have a further talk in this connection. The only course now left to the Nationalists was to record a formal protest against the election of a President, who was not friendly to them, at the time when he would be proposed to be elected. And Mr Tilak gave a notice to the Chairman of the Reception Committee that he would move such a resolution.

"If this legitimate request of the Nationalists were acceded to everything would have passed peacefully for they were in a minority and the motion was bound to be defeated. But both parties had then lost the balance of their minds. Mr Tilak was not permitted to move the resolution, and he on his part was deter mined to do it and refused to leave the platform unless he was permitted to speak or be removed by physical force. A number of men belonging to the Moderate camp now lost all control over themselves, fell upon Mr Tilak and began dragging him, when a Maratha shoe meant some say for Mr Tilak while others aver it was aimed at his enemies struck Sir Pherozesha Mehta and bru shed Babu Surendra Nath Bannerji s face and added confusion to the scene The more excited partisans of the rival parties then commenced to throw chairs at one another and the sitting of the Congress was suspended. The disturbance was over in 10 or 15 minutes.

"No Indian can contemplate this deplorarable affair without a sense of shame and humiliation. Both parties were responsible for

fully consented to humiliate himself before relentless enemies who would tear him to pieces if they could, though sincerely believing himself to be innocent.

"And fancy also the grave risk he incurred. Many of his bitter and *unscrupulous opponents* availing themselves of this self-condemnation might seek to ruin his character and reputation in the eyes of his countrymen carefully concealing from their knowledge the noblest motive which had prompted him to resort to this course of self-damnation. With this written undertaking in our possession I Rai Yatindra Nath and a few other friends ran to the Moderate camp with a view to bring about a reconciliation if possible but we were *simply howled out by the Moderate leaders* headed by Sir Pherozsha Mehta. They were all in high temper and it was impossible to reason with them."

Now to the second incident. When Mr Tilak was released in June, 1914, the *Statesman* newspaper wrote:—

"Bal Gangadhar Tilak was sentenced on July 22nd 1908 to six years transportation for sedition and he has served the full term of the sentence imposed upon him. Eleven years earlier in 1897 he was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment on a similar charge but he was released before the completion of his term under certain pledges of good behaviour"

"The quoted portions in the above passage are ours. The allegation that he gave certain pledges of good behaviour is absolutely false. His detractors would not have preferred this charge against him if they knew what *stuff this illustrious Maratha Brahman* was made of. He is not the man to humiliate himself in that way for any consideration. The contents of a private letter which he had written to me at the time when the sedition case was pending against him in 1897 will show him in his true light. He never intended its publication; all the same it was published in the papers

when he was in jail and I reprint it here with a few preliminary remarks."

"Well, Mr. Tilak found himself in almost inextricable difficulties when the government of Lord Sandhurst started the prosecution against him for sedition in 1897, a poor man he was practically left to himself, with a few devoted friends to fight the mighty government with unlimited resources at its disposal The public, if left to themselves, would no doubt have come forward to help him. But where was the guarantee that those who contributed to the Tilak Defence Fund would not share the fate of the Natu Brothers who had been deported and imprisoned under Regulation III of 1818 without trial? As a matter of fact detectives were found taking down the names of those who had been interesting themselves in the Tilak case. Further the only senior Counsel then available at Bombay, Mr. Macpherson, had been engaged by the Government. Indeed, if we had not been able to secure the services of the late Mr. Pugh of the Calcutta Bar, Mr. Tilak would have gone undefended And add to this the broken state of his health. It was at this juncture that some of his intimate friends proposed to Mr Tilak to make up the quarrel with his irresistible opponents by tendering an apology"

"When this proposal was sent to Mr Tilak he felt deeply pained. Not that he wanted to prove his high spirit by fight with the Government, but because he did not like to take the odium upon himself of having yielded for considerations of personal safety. Here is an extract from his letter —

"The other side expects me to do what amounts to pleading guilty. I am not prepared to do so My position among the people entirely depends upon my character, and if I am cowed down by the prosecution in the heart of my hearts—I know the case for the prosecution is the weakest that was ever placed before a jury—I think living in Maharashtra is as good as living in the Andamans.

On the merits of the case I am confident of success, though I can not in this letter and in the present state of my health give you all my reasons. I am afraid only of a non-Marathi-knowing jury and not of justice You as well as I know that we are incapable of nourishing any sinister feeling against British rule and it is thus impossible for any of us to be convicted of such a charge as sedition. Such risks, however we must take if we dabble in politics. They are the risks of our profession and I am prepared to face them. If you all advise I am prepared to go only so far as this. " I don t think that the articles are seditious, but the advisors of Government think otherwise I am sorry for it." But this will not satisfy the Government. Their object is to humiliate the Poona leaders, and I think in me they will not find a Katcha reed as they did in some others. Then you must remember beyond a certain stage, we are all servants of the people You will be betraying and disappointing them if you show a lamentable want of courage at a critical time But above all as an honest and honourable man, how can I plead guilty to the charge of entertaining sedition when I had none ? If I am convicted, the sympathy of my countrymen will support me in my trouble."

" The above reminds me of a similar incident in the life of Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose in connection with the criminal libel case brought against him by a European Deputy Magistrate of Jessore named Mr Wright, when the *Patrika* was barely three or four months old (1868) and used to be issued from our native village, Amrit Bazaar The policy of the paper and the vigour with which it was conducted created such a sensation in the official circle that it was decided that Babu Shishir Kumar should be taught a lesson which he should never forget in his life. Mr Justice Davar when sentencing Mr Tilak was pleased to observe that it was desirable that he should be banished from his Mother country for half a dozen years in the interests of peace Similarly the instruction of the Bengal Government to the local authorities of Jessore

was that Shishir Kumar should be kept confined in the local jail for two years for the mental peace of the ruling authorities. As a matter of fact a special house was constructed in the jail compound for his accommodation Proposal however came from the District Magistrate, who and Babu Shishir Kumar were good friends before the institution of the case, that the prosecution might be withdrawn against him if he would apologise and disclose the name of the writer of the incriminating article He declined the offer with thanks, but strangely enough the trying Sessions Judge, who had a personal grudge against Shishir Kumar, instead of convicting, acquitted him possibly out of consideration for the state of his health; for it would have meant virtual death to him if he had been confined in jail at that time when he was in the grip of a deadly malady."

"The position in which Mr. Tilak found himself was of course more serious. He was involved in a case of sedition which meant transportation or long term of imprisonment with hard labour. Like Babu Shishir Kumar he was also very ill But read his letter and realise his courage and sense of duty. "I think in me they will not find a 'katcha' reed as they did in some others" says Mr. Tilak in his letter. The reference is to the late lamented Mr. Gokhale who, about the time of Mr. Tilak's prosecution, had under official pressure made an unqualified apology for certain allegations made by him in England against the conduct of the British Soldiers employed on Plague duty in Poona in 1897 In fairness to Mr Gokhale, it should be said however that he was willing to stick to his words, but was prevented from doing so by his Guru, Mr. Ranade, whom he could not disobey In the course of a conversation Mr Ranade assured me that the entire responsibility for Gokhale's apology was his, and Mr Gokhale simply followed his advice Be that as it may, the fearless independence, the ardent love of principle and the utter disregard of self which Mr Tilak displayed on this occasion was a glorious chapter in his public life.

He also showed unique magnanimity by taking upon himself the entire responsibility of the alleged seditious articles which were written not by him but by another gentleman."

The all-engrossing passion of Mr Tilak was his country freedom of which was the inspiration of his life and freedom of which was again the inspiration of his death. Before this he could sacrifice everything—money health, comfort, intellectual gifts of the highest order and even his love of religious meditation. "As long as the country is enslaved," said he, "scholarship and asceticism are luxuries which I cannot afford. This is the reason why although himself a Brahman with the highest religious fervour he kept religion and even social reforms studiously apart from politics and even did not hesitate to declare that he knew of no honesty and no morality but his country This is also why although possessing rare intellectual powers of a great savant as displayed in his books which elicited admiration from all great scholars he chose to sacrifice them in order to work like a humble worker in the cause of his country

In this struggle for freedom, he was undoubtedly the bravest and the most active of the soldiers of his day And what a tremendous suffering he had to endure all through his life at the hands of the bureaucracy! He suffered rigorous imprisonment and transportation for an aggregate term of more than seven years on charges of sedition on two occasions. But no amount of persecution could break his undaunted and indomitable spirit and as fire consumes only the impurities of gold making it much more brilliant and purified, sufferings made Mr Tilak only appear in the effulgence and grandeur of his character No wonder then, that both during his life and after death he has received the most grateful homage of the entire nation.

J. M. Sen Gupta.

[*Bar-at-Law, Mayor, Calcutta Corporation, Calcutta.*]

Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the prince of martyrs and a dauntless soldier in freedom's battle, had a unique hold over the masses and was the very first of our leaders to recognise that there could be for us but one political question and one political aim the earliest substitution of national for alien control in the affairs of our Motherland. Living a life of solemn consecration, he endeavoured to create in the nation a resolute will to be free and a deathless determination to face all difficulties and sufferings that a struggle for freedom brings in its train. Preeminently, a man of action, with a supreme capacity for splendid organisation, he taught by his life that it was by action more than anything else that the will of the people could be trained and strengthened.

Diwan Chaman Lal.

[*Member of the Legislative Assembly, Lahore.*]

The ancient Egyptians worshipped the God of Prophecy and called him RAA. He is a hawk's headed god with eyes that look and look and a sharp hawk nose full of grim determination. And he is a patient god seated on an alabaster throne, immobile like alabaster and inscrutable like a mystery. In the nineties and later Maharashtra worshipped a god and called him Bal Gangadhar Tilak For it must be remembered that our gods are but human beings in disguise The super-man among men is the one who sits upon the throne of alabaster, and being mortal, gains immortality. In appearance there was not a pin's point to choose between RAA of Egypt and Tilak of Maharashtra, except that it would be ridiculous to think of RAA without the hawk-head, and of Tilak without his bristling moustache. But Tilak was

no prophet. He was a leader of men in the Napoleonic sense, a fighter a pugnacious fighter a tactician, a strategist, whose intellect gave vistas of the circuitous alleys and bye-paths of an artistic diplomacy What distinguished him from the man who stepped into his shoes upon his death, Gandhi was that he unlike the latter was not a revivalist. He was essentially a realistic thinker in politics having reduced politics to a science having eschewed sentiment in a land in which the make-up of the average man is 90% romance and 10% sentiment. Has it ever struck biographers of Lokamanya Tilak that there is a vital truth underlying the distinction between Gandhi and his predecessor in the leadership of Political India ? Tilak preached Swaraj for fifty years and said : "Follow me I shall get you Swaraj in fifty years." Gandhi comes upon the scene no doubt having had the advantage of a situation created by a world war and says: "Follow me and I will get you Swaraj in a year" The cry of this realist almost seemed like a cry in the wilderness. But the cry of the man who captured the sentimental hearts of his countrymen was like the piping of the Pied Piper of Hamlin. Few followed Tilak, but the many rushed after Gandhi. Although both can despair with Napoleon when he said "the only mistress I have is France; she has never failed me ; for India failed both Gandhi and Tilak, just as France failed Napoleon. I remember at a meeting in the Essex Hall, London, 1919 at which Mr Hassan Imam presided, I moved a resolution calling upon our leaders to state unequivocally that they would boycott Mr Montagu s Reform scheme. Lokamanya Tilak jumped to his feet and opposed the resolution. He said "Come to India, put your proposition before your people. If they agree, I shall be there to lead. But remember that the people are like an army and like an army they must march together My principle is that I must always remain a few paces in advance of my army But I have an eye in the back of my head always noting watching that the army follows"

How clearly does this sentiment illustrate the wide difference between the two personalities—Gandhi and Tilak. Politically there was a time when Gandhi was but a few steps in advance of his army. Morally he was the whole circumference of a planet in advance. Never so with Lokamanya Tilak. The difference you will note between the realist and the idealist. There was one man perhaps who combined the two qualities—Deshbandhu Das. If he had lived he would have been the greatest enemy of Imperialism in the East, for it is a dangerous combination—the poet and the politician-more dangerous than the combination of the revivalist and the politician—more dangerous than the combination of the scholar and the politician. My first meeting with Lokamanya Tilak was in London at a tea party organised, I believe, on the day of his arrival in celebration of the DIVALI festival. From that time onward I was constantly in his company, and I can say without hesitation that in those days no man comanded the hearts of the younger generation as did this dead leader of men. I do not think that I was more than 15 years of age when Lok. Tilak received his sentence of 6 years' imprisonment. I recalled when I met him how I had spent a whole day fasting in childish anguish. And I felt when I met him, that I had known him for years, as one knows a familiar picture or a favourite book. That itself is a quality which only a great man of Nietzche's idea can inspire, for greatness without the transparency of a child's heart is not greatness at all. Nietzche may well claim the three metamorphoses in Tilak's life, the camel, the lion and the child. The camel for resistance and labour, the lion for courage, and the child for vision.

I remember another occasion when the jury gave its verdict in the Chirol case As Tilak came down the steps into the great hall from the court-room, supported by two of his colleagues, looking very much of a disillusioned man, he turned to me and said. "This sort of justice I could have obtained in India" That was

undoubtedly the feeling of everyone who listened to the trial; in fact so overwhelming was this feeling that Baptista turned to me in the court room, and in his usually humorous way wanted to take 2 to 1 odds on the verdict being favourable to Tilak. Tilak soon recovered from this the great shock demonstrated to him by the jury system of Great Britain, and it must be confessed also by the forensic ability of Lord Carson, although I have seldom in my life heard a more brilliant address to the jury than that of Sir John Simon, who spoke for three hours without looking at a single note, and with such clearness that one could have gone home and reproduced his whole speech from memory I recall one passage-at-arms with Carson. Carson said "Now Mr Tilak, do you really wish us to believe that the partition of Bengal, the mere division of a province into two geographical units did lead to a movement to manufacture and throw bombs ?" Tilak replied in his quiet manner but with his eyes gleaming "Why yes of course ! Did not the same thing happen in Ireland ?" And the Irishman in Carson flared up the great lawyer loosing his temper like a petulant child.

It seems to me that the great misfortune of Tilak was that he was constantly being disillusioned regarding men and events, due probably to the fact that he himself had a towering personality but those who surrounded him, barring a few notable men, were rather ordinary human beings. He had been led to believe for instance that he would be allowed to lead a deputation to the Peace Con ference; but that ended in smoke, and those who knew him realised that when the final refusal came, Tilak was visibly shocked. But then it seems to me that such is the inevitable fate of all great personalities. The most tragic thing that could happen to a man of that stature is not that others should fail him, but that he should fail himself. Therein again lay the difference between Gandhi and Tilak. I can recall no incident in the life of Tilak regarding which it can be said that Tilak was found wanting when the crisis came

As this article is but a glimpse at one or two flashing facts of Tilak's life, it would be out of place to delve into the politico-historical significance of Tilak's career. But let no man dare to say that Tilak belonged essentially to the 19th century. Even in his old age he had developed that realistic sense of keeping abreast of his times. When the idea of holding a Trade Union Congress was first mooted, Tilak joined it eagerly, reminding me, that when he was sentenced to imprisonment, a general strike took place among the mill-hands of Bombay, who actually indulged in violent rioting, because the leader nearest to their heart had been imprisoned. Had he lived I have no doubt that, like C. R. Das, he would have been in the forefront of the Labour fight One last incident and I have finished. At 6 o'clock in the evening in the office of the *Bombay Chronicle* one day, I received a telephone message asking me to go to see Tilak at the Sardar-Griha. When I arrived at the hotel, it was drizzling. I met Tilak on the steps; I warned him not to expose himself, but he insisted on a long drive, and for over two hours he discussed with me the question of Non-co-operation. In a small pamphlet I published the gist of the last interview I had with him As I entered Tilak's room that night I saw on his table his silver pouch with his initials B G. T carved upon the lid, and the thought crossed my mind as to how valuable that relic would become after Tilak's death. Tilak having caught a chill was dead within ten days, and one more beacon light from the eastern horizon was roughly extinguished But let me say finally this, that not only did Tilak add glory to the glorious past of the Mahratta race, but that he was the first to teach India to be fearless, to be realistic, and to be full of hope.

M. A. Ansari.

[*M. D. Doctor, President, Indian N. Congress, Delhi.*]

I consider it a great privilege to have been asked to write an appreciation of one of our greatest patriots and statesmen, the immortal Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

My first contact with him was brought about during the negotiations between the All-India Muslim League representatives and those of the Indian National Congress in the year 1916 at Lucknow Tilak and his stalwart Nationalist followers had joined the Congress for the first time in Lucknow after the Surat split of 1907 between the Moderates and Extremists. He had suffered seven years of imprisonment for the crime of being a great lover of his country He had gained greatly in stature was adored by his people, his name being a household word all over India.

My first impression when I visited him in his camp was that he was broken and bent and a shrivelled-up man prematurely aged from undergoing mental and physical hardships. I was however soon cured of my error after only a few minutes conversation with him when he asserted, with all the fire and zeal of a militant commander that he was going to lead India to its destined goal without any fear of hardships or sufferings His talk to the young Muslims who had accompanied me had produced a profound impression on us especially when he told us that he would sooner have Muslim raj than submit to the degrading influences of the British raj

During the course of conversations between the Congress leaders, chief amongst whom were Ambika Charan Mazumdar the president of the Congress of that year Surendra Nath Bannerji, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mrs. Annie Besant and Lokamanya Tilak, and the leaders of the Muslim League consisting of M A. Jinnah, President of the League, Mazarul Haq and the Raja of Mahmudabad, Tilak s part was always notable for liberality and large-mindedness towards the Muslims. It may be asserted without any doubt that his generous gesture was a great factor in winning over the Mussalmans and inducing them to accept the proposals which formed the Lucknow pact. The introductory portion of his speech, when proposing the resolution embodying the pact in the

open session of the Congress–"It has been said by some that we Hindus have yielded too much to our Mahomedan brethren. I am sure I represent the sense of the Hindu community all over India, when I say that we could not have yielded too much"–breathes the only spirit in which a majority can win the complete confidence of a minority. His vision was not Hindu domination as some people have wrongly asserted but that of a united India marching forward to attain its freedom.

I met Tilak again in 1917, during the session of the Calcutta Congress when Bi-amma, the revered mother of Shoukat Ali and Mahamad Ali, had accompanied me in order to take up the work of her two brave sons who were interned at Chhindwara under that arbitrary and much abused law—the Defence of India Act. The extreme courtesy and reverence shown by Tilak to Bi-amma and the great interest and sympathy which he evinced towards the sufferings and hardships of the Ali Brothers were very touching. His speech in the Congress when proposing the resolution for the release of Mahamad Ali and Shoukat Ali, was typical of him. Two brief quotations from it would reveal his mind. He said :—

" As their friend and sympathiser, not personal friend but as friend and sympathiser of everyone who is unjustly treated, without distinction of caste, creed or colour, as friend and sympathiser of truth and justice, which is the foundation of every empire in this world, I demand that Messrs Mahamad Ali and Shoukat Ali should be immediately released " Further addressing their mother, he said —"But let me assure the mother here, on your behalf, that the title to become a mother of brave sons far exceeds in importance the title of being a mother only, and let me suggest to her with the consent of all of you here to-day to forget what Government has done and take consolation in the fact that all of us have great sympathy with her in her present position, and I pray to God that we may have many more mothers in the country of her type. That is the only consolation I can offer her."

Tilak had a lofty mind. He was scrupulously just and fair The Arrah riots which had taken place before the Congress Session in 1917 and in which the Mohammedans had suffered untold miseries at the hands of the rioters, were avoided by most of the Congress leaders with the exception of Tilak and Gandhi, the only two who were ready to condemn the excesses of the Hindu mob.

In the year 1918, Tilak visited Delhi but he was served with an order from the Government not to make any public speeches. He however attended all the public meetings and functions without delivering any speech which was done by Khaparde in his behalf. I had many conversations with him during his stay in Delhi and got some insight into the character and mentality of the great man. I can truthfully state that I have met only one other man about whom it can be asserted that he practised plain living and high thinking

But it was not until the Congress of 1919 at Amritsar that Tilak was revealed to me in his true fighting colours. The controversy which raged for several days between Tilak and C. R. Das, on one hand and Gandhi, Malaviya and Jinnah on the other regarding the resolution on the reforms, showed the high intellectual calibre and the fighting qualities of the great Maharashtra leader His advocacy of the policy of Responsive Co-operation was most impressive and illuminating Some of the words uttered by him in his speech when placing the compromise resolution proved prophetic and in less than a year Mahatma Gandhi was forced at the Special Session of the Congress held in Calcutta to declare war against the Government.

Tilak supported the Khilafat movement from its very inception in 1919 He was present in Delhi in January 1920 at the important conference of the Hindu and Muslim leaders previous to the Deputation which waited on the Viceroy and which placed the demands of the Indian Muslims in connection with the Khilafat

question. In the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Benares at the end of May 1920, Tilak fully supported the Khilafat resolution I well remember the conversation I had with him after the meeting when I urged him to go to Allahabad where a very important Hindu-Muslim conference was fixed in the first week of June previous to the Khilafat Conference where the programme of Non-violent Non-co-operation was going to be adopted lay the Central Khilafat Committee. On being pressed to go to Allahabad, he said, that he was ready to render greater assistance and offer greater sacrifice in the cause of Khilafat than those who contemplated it and therefore the Mussalmans could always count on his support in the course of the mild campaign which they were going to start under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. He was afraid that his presence at the Allahabad meeting might prove a hindrance rather than a help to the Muslims. I little realised then that it was to be the last opportunity for me to pay my homage to the great leader For soon after his return to Bombay, he fell ill and passed away

Tilak belonged to the category of those rare individuals who appear in History only once in every two or three centuries and seem to alter the course of events by overthrowing dynasties, building empires and revolutionising a whole country by their dynamic personalities.

Dr. V. H. Rutherford.

[*M. A. M. B. Doctor, Ex-member of the Parliament, London.*]

On the broad roll of fame, as a Liberator of his country from foreign domination, Bal Gangadhar Tilak stands high along with Mazzini and Washington and Daniel O'Connell.

It was my good fortune to meet Mr Tilak at the National Congress at Surat in 1907 and later in London. At Surat I acted as a

peace-maker between the Moderates and Extremists trying to bring about a reconciliation between their respective leaders—Mr Gokhale and Mr Tilak, but without avail. In principle both men and both parties were agreed upon Home Rule (Swarajya) for India; they differed only in *tactics* which in the words of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, I asked them to 'damn' and then unite in order to shake off their country's shackles.

I learnt to like and admire both men. Gokhale struck me as the born diplomatist making the best of both worlds official and opposition; while Tilak stood like a tower before the blasts of the bureaucracy suffering imprisonment and banishment.

How much further Swarajya would have been advanced, if these two men and their parties had cooperated against British rule lies on the lap of the Gods!

One episode bearing upon the great movement towards India's emancipation I feel it my painful duty to make public for the first time painful, because it reveals how fear and vindictiveness mingle in the minds and administration of alien bureaucrats. The most powerful British bureaucrat but one in India once engaged me in conversation as follows:—

Bureaucrat:—What do you think of Tilak?

The writer:—I think he is a great patriot rightly fighting for his country's freedom.

Bureaucrat:—Gokhale and the Moderates we do not fear but Tilak and the Extremists are a danger to British rule and we mean to have Tilak.

Within six months of this conversation Tilak was sentenced to six years transportation and a fine of 1000 rupees for so-called sedition, that is, for criticising bureaucratic repression, for preaching disaffection to the British raj and for upholding the inalienable right of Indians to rule themselves and to direct the destinies of their own country.

I cannot refrain from drawing the obvious moral, that India will win Justice and Self-government (Swarajya), when Indians present a united front in the fight for Freedom.

Hy. S. L. Polak.

[*Champion of Indian Cause in South Africa, London.*]

My first personal recollection of Mr. Tilak occurred only in 1916, when I saw him at the Lucknow Congress, which I then attended as a delegate from the South African Indian community. I had heard much of Mr. Tilak's scholarship and versatility from Mr Gandhi when in South Africa, and one of my earliest recollections, even before I joined Mr. Gandhi and threw in my lot with the South African Indian community, was in reading some early issues of *Indian Opinion* interesting articles on Mr. Tilak's book—"The Arctic Home of the Vedas."

At Lucknow I was able to see for myself something of the immense influence wielded by Mr. Tilak over the imaginations of his countrymen. I had a great reverence for him as one who had suffered much for his convictions. I saw more of him in London in 1919 at the time of the Parliamentary Committee on Indian affairs, that was then preparing the first draft of the Government of India Act, embodying the reforms of that year, and though our view did not coincide on many points, I felt acutely the failure of the Parliamentary Committee to take advantage of Mr. Tilak's experience and statesmanship, by cross-examining him upon the remarkable statement that he placed before it. I know he was deeply disappointed at the treatment he received on that occasion.

Mr Tilak's simplicity of life and the warmth of his personal relationships drew general recognition. I was much impressed by his insistence upon the political doctrine that one ought to take what was offered and press for the rest with all the vigour in one's

power I may be wrong but I have a feeling that had Mr Tilak lived a little longer the history of recent years in India might have been written very differently

Sadashiv-Shastri Kanhere

[*Lecturer Oriental Institute University of London London*]

It was on the 16th of December 1918 that at my request Lok. Tilak came to dine with me along with his friend At that time I said to him that there was no doubt that the title Lokamanya prefixed to his name was a magic word. I however expressed my difficulty as to whether the compound word Lokamanya was to be solved as a Tatpurush or a Bahuvrihi. I could not hear the ready reply given by the Lokamanya amidst the loud laughter of the guests assembled. But I remember this much that the reply created such an uproar of laughter that it continued to agitate the guests to the end of the dinner time It is well-known that Lok. Tilak s wits were always original and striking

After the Chirol case was over on the 19th of March, 1919 I went along with Lok. Tilak to the Liverpool street railway station to give a send-off to Mr Dadasaheb Karandikar of Satara. We had the following talk in the taxi on our way back.

Myself:—You must have been greatly disappointed by your failure in the Chirol case ?

Lokamanya:—Disappointment is not a word to be found in my dictionary Success or failure does not come in the way of my work. On the contrary failure incites me to more vigorous action. I will soon begin my lecture tour !

Myself:—I think you cannot break the agreement entered into with the Indian Government, not to lecture here.

Lok.:—I am advised here that the agreement entered into in India is not binding on me here in England. Let us see

what happens. That I will be gagged is a foregone conclusion. But we must not shirk our duty.

Myself.—I think that for many years to come I will have to continue in my service here Do you think it possible for me to discharge any special duty which would not conflict with my service ?

Lok..—It is better for you to specialise in the German language and to be fairly acquainted with other European languages

Myself.—Of what use would be that ?

Lok.:—You can read their literature and write books in our mother language (Marathi) or contribute articles to the newspapers.

Myself.—I am not used to that.

Lok.—By practice you can do it.

Myself.—I tried, but have failed in these attempts.

Lok. —I also could not write two lines of correct sentences when I began. But I progressed by-and-by.

Myself.—For the last ten years I have successfully lectured in Marathi. But I do'nt think I can succeed with the pen.

Lok.—(With a grim face replied cuttingly) You try and you will succeed Do'nt talk despairingly to me.

Josephine Ransom.

[*Secretary British and India Society, London.*]

LOKAMANYA TILAK

It is indeed a privilege to be among those who bear witness to the work of Mr. Tilak. I had long watched with interest his championship of the Motherland in her struggle for freedom. It

was a great pleasure therefore, to meet him when he was in England when the Reforms were being discussed in Parliament.

Mr Tilak struck me as a man with an immense amount of self-control and of great reserves of moral strength and character I feel that there was somewhere deep in him an intense conscious pride in his country and her long and wonderful past in his lineage and in the history of his brilliant Maharashtra people. That so very long ago they too had knocked at the door of Delhi and made a powerful bid for the occupancy of the Imperial Throne

At Committee meetings Mr Tilak would sit very still and quiet taking apparently but little notice of what was going on, except that occasionally his sleepy looking eyes would suddenly open and flash. When called upon for his own opinion it was clear that his quick mind had registered every argument and had instantly analysed its value His mind seemed quite ruthless in its power to detect fallacy in any statement. He could always show with force and directness where the truth actually lay

On the platform Mr Tilak was equally direct. He dealt with the all-important theme which occupied all his life and thought. No one could come into contact with him without appreciating the flawlessness of his devotion to his country his determination to have her stand high among the self governing nations of the world, and his vast knowledge of her history his tremendous sympathy for her needs.

At the time when the reforms were being put through, the Britain and India association had been organised by myself and others for the express purpose of putting Indian question before the public and arousing sympathy and good will. It was almost the only Society which was neutral and could therefore arrange to have the leaders of the various deputations from India on one platform. They might disagree as to ways and means but one passion burned in them all-Home Rule for India. On such occa

sions Mr. Tilak always impressed his hearers with his one-pointedness, and his insight into the whole of the problem.

When interviewing Mr. Tilak I was impressed by his patience in answering questions. He knew quite well that his words would be repeated and repeated, pulled to pieces and very likely misinterpreted So he was careful to say exactly what he meant, and had me repeat my notes to be sure of their exactness. He reiterated patiently so that I should grasp his intention fully and see his point of view and understand his conception of the trend of events.

When the interview was over, I thanked Mr. Tilak. Suddenly his manner changed from that of the austere, purposeful patriot and statesman, to that of the delicate courtesy of the Indian gentleman. He graciously thanked me for having given him the opportunity as though I had bestowed a blessing upon him, instead of it being the other way about! I asked him if he would like to revise the interview when written up "No," he replied, "I trust you entirely in the matter." The bigness of Mr Tilak, his faith in the good-will of others could not have answered otherwise.

K. Vyasa Rao.

[*Joint Editor 'Federated India', Madras.*]

To know Mr. Tilak personally was the privilege of very few in South India and even these few had not the opportunity of coming into close personal contact with him. Peripatetic pyrotechnics did not possess much attraction for him and one had to wait for a long time between two visits to the same place by the Lokamanya. The first time I happened to be introduced to him was in 1904 at the Madras Congress when I was the Editor of 'Native States' subsequently "Indian States and United India." Of course, every one

even outside Maharashtra had become familiar with his name since 1896 but opportunities to meet him outside Poona were very rare.

What struck me at the very first sight was his profound earnestness which allowed him no time for needless words. He was far from silent when he did not speak, and when he spoke briefly and tersely he spoke as though he must pass on and speak to another. It was as though a message had to be delivered by him and the messenger had to move on from person to person, delivering his message. That was his life mission, the reason why he came into the world. A message when he wrote a message when he made a speech and a message when he met some one. The impact left on the visitor was instantaneous and complete. In most cases he had found the solvent of his doubts and Tilak stood in his mind as a guide in whom full faith could be implicitly placed. A man of vast learning it was not merely his learning, that influenced public opinion a man of unblemished personal character it was not merely the purity of his character that induced the faith that so many had in his eminence as the Nation's fearless and far-seeing leader. With all his daring and uncommon sacrifice it was not these merely that obtained a following for him. Each of these factors did exert its own influence in ensuring for him an unparalleled measure of respect and esteem even from those who irreconcilably differed from him. The secret of his hold on the constellation of India's Greatest men, past and present, seemed to lie in his role he played as a clear-sighted thinker who put to test his convictions to demonstrate their value to his country. Politics to him was a science of sciences and the rehabilitation of a fallen country the greatest of all Sciences. He spoke not as a man who was trying to arrive at a solution, but as one who had arrived at a reasoned conclusion and exhibited it to others for their closest scrutiny. Political rope-dancing and political magic-tricks failed to appeal to him and he preferred always to

tread upon firm ground and he would gaze with a pitying eye at doctrinaire politicians who would expound a short cut for India's political freedom on the mere sanctity of phrases. He would not halt in the course of his reasoning to avoid a conclusion but was prepared to conclude as logic and reality would lead him to conclude. He wanted to feed the masses on strong meat and had no use alike for intoxicants, opiatics and milksops. Consequently, he was neither a frothy propagandist of the soulforce of an emasculated people nor an accommodating apostle of a perpetual title-deed by Providence to a foreign power for the governance of India.

Of one incident I have a vivid recollection which showed how hard reality had an overpowering value for him as against an array of theorists who were driven to formulate grotesque solutions to overcome an obviously insoluble problem. At the meeting of the Subjects Committee in the Congress pendal in presence I believe, of Sir Pheroz Metha and all the other eminent Congressmen of the day whose sympathy Mr Gokhale had evidently secured, Mr. Gokhale proposed that the Congress ought to ask for representation for India in the House of Commons, as even the most sympathetic Englishmen in Parliament would not as effectively represent India's case as competent Indians would be able to do and as Indians could not ordinarily hope to be returned by elections held in England Most of the members were inclined to treat the proposal as harmless and were of the view that the Congress had ample justification for making such a demand. Eyes were turned on Mr. Tilak and had he blessed the proposal it would have been carried, no one dissenting Mr. Tilak stood up and in the manner of a leader who was giving his considered verdict without haste or hesitation pointed out that there could be no representation in British Parliament without payment of taxation and if the British nation was likely to change the Constitution of England for the sake of India, it might more readily alter the Constitution of India itself. India must be governed in India, he

said, and stressed that while all our problems lay around freeing India from such British control as has come to exist, it would be folly to complicate the position still further by sprinkling a few Indians in the British House of Commons. Mr Gokhale who had elaborated a case for his proposal with his usual lucidity of exposition, and made it look quite plausible sat like one whose speech had deserted him and heaved a sigh; and the Subjects Committee passed on to the next item as a matter of course, won dering how it could have seriously entertained so palpably un tenable a proposal.

As unflinching a patriot as this or any other country ever produced, the value of Mr Tilak's services chiefly consisted in his thorough and unerring grasp of material factors in the politi- cal situation of the country and in his readiness to advance and lead the country as far as the fitness of the country warranted without making it liable to a reaction which would divide depress and enfeeble it in many ways and from which it would be long before the country could recover its normal measure of strength and solidarity and its self-reliant spontaneity in thought and action.

His was a leadership that counselled no measure that would recoil on the country and which did not endow it with a high measure of vitality instead of keeping it contented with its own helplessness.

Sir Edgar Wallais

[*Portland Palace London*]

I did meet the late Mr Tilak in London and I found him a very fascinating personality He was a man of such intellectual qualities that it was humanly impossible that one could have met him without being impressed.

He had an extraodinary sense of humour. He was the most human man I have ever met, very gentle and very kindly and unusally learned. We discussed the Aryan races, the old religion of Persia, and very naturally we discussed also Home Rule for India, a subject which was very near to his heart.

He had all the qualities of a great leader, and I feel satisfied that, had he lived, it would have been for the good and to the advantage of his country. What impressed me most was the temperate character of all the arguments he employed. I do not remember that he ever spoke one ill word against the people whom he might have been reasonably expected to regard as his enemies.

Konda Venkatappayya.

[*B A. LL. B., Pleader, Guntur.*]

Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak is one of the greatest of our national leaders admired, respected and loved throughout India.

Even from early youth, he was endowed with love for the Motherland and keenly felt the humiliation of her subjection to foreign rule. The greatest ambition of his life was, therefore, to free his country from the humiliation.

He took to politics not as a mere pastime or pleasure but as the most serious business of his life. Almost from the day he had left his College till the end of his life, his was a continuous and disinterested service offered to the Motherland. Endowed as he was, with a brilliant intellect and equipped with profound learning, he used his talent and scholarship for the good of his country.

At the very start of his public life, he appears to have realised that the success of all national movements depends upon the

awakening and active co-operation of the masses. This purpose he sought to achieve through educational institutions, newspapers lecturing tours and national festivals In organising and utilising these institutions he adopted methods which stand as models for national service.

He always looked ahead of others and being true to his convictions, he never hesitated to translate them into action. Some of his best companions were unable to appreciate his view-point and sometimes the disagreement was so keen that it lead to withdrawal of co-operation on the part of those friends. But his stout heart never quailed at the loneliness of the struggle and he would carry on the fight single-handed inspite of overwhelming opposition.

His incessant and strenuous fight with the Government his vexatious trials in the law courts, his adroit, intrepid and self-conducted defences and his long periods of imprisonment are all memorable in the political history of India and are an inspiration to every fighter in the cause of the Motherland.

Though Maharashtra always commanded his first and immediate attention, he was as much a servant of India as he was of his own native province His long and unflinching devotion to the national cause through unmitigated suffering and travail and his fearless advocacy of freedom as the birth-right of every man mark him as one of the most brilliant stars in the Indian political firmament worthy to be ranked amongst the great politicians of the world along with Gladstone Pitt and Prince Bismark In the depth of patriotic sentiment and sacrifice he resembled Mazzini and Garibaldi and if India had been a free country he would have won as wide a reputation as Lenin or Kamalpasha

His writings have a unique value not only because of the great scholarship displayed in them, but also on account of the fact that some of them were composed, without the aid of any books of reference in his solitary cell while suffering incarceration in jail.

His last illness might be largely attributed to the strain of the engagements he had in England, whither he had gone, inspite of age and failing health, on a deputation with reference to the Montford reforms. He was covered with glory in death, as in life. Never had India witnessed a funeral so sad and yet so grand and attended with such huge concourse of people of all castes and creeds, who, in bemoaning the loss of their great hero, forgot, for once, all the distinctions that usually keep them apart.

Though dead he is yet living and will live for ever in the hearts of the millions of his grateful countrymen

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Kaviraj Gananath Sen.

[*M A, L. M S Saraswati. Mahamahopadhyaya, Calcutta.*]

I have been requested to write my reminiscences of the great saint and patriot Lokamanya Balgangadhar Tilak. My acquaintance with Tilak was short and uneventful. Yet the impressions the great soul produced on my mind seem to be indelible. I met him first in a Dharmasala in Calcutta in 1913 He was ill with fever and had sent for me for my professional services I went and found him surrounded by congeries of people With me he talked more of his country's future than of his fever. He spoke of the invincibility of the human mind and was eloquent on the necessity of social and educational reforms With a temperature of 104°, he had a good word and a smile for every one that came to see him The fever seemed not to touch his soul In a few days he was restored to health and inspite of my remonstrances, he presided at a meeting and converted hundreds to his creed. A year or so after this, I met Mr. Tilak again at the Indian Ayurvedic Conference held in Poona There he spoke as an honoured guest and his short speech on Ayurveda and its national aspect was simply charming He said we must depend on ourselves for food, clothes and medicines. He spoke of our great past but he was conscious of our present fallen

state and shortcomings to the fullest extent. The same evening at the close of the conference he invited all the delegates to his house at an evening party in orthodox Indian style The function was very pleasant, Tilak was all smiles and courtesy but there was not a shade of affectation about him. Every one realised the child like simplicity of the great man. He seemed to impress every one with the idea that here was a man who lived for his country and loved his countrymen sincerely and was confident of a great future He presented me with a copy of his famous interpreta tion of Geeta. I took the Hindi edition as I understood this better than the Marhatti edition. I have this valuable work in my library with Tilak's inscription on it. It is a treasury of original thought and in my opinion Tilak s great mind is best reflected in his masterly exposition of the Geeta. I understand the work has been publish ed in Bengali but somebody should write a volume on "Tilak-his mind" as revealed in his Geeta. It will do immense good to the country

The third time I met Tilak was in Calcutta after sometime He was ill and I was sent for He prophesied much too truly also that his end was near but he assured me that his spirit was bound to re-incarnate for the service of his country His health was broken but his mind was undaunted. He spoke of the great strug gle that was to come I believe the spirit of Swarajist creed ema nated from him originally Tilak is no more but the great struggle has begun. Would he were again amongst us to stand out as the Beacon light to guide us in the right path and steer the National boat clear of the treacherous waters that seem to be closing in upon us?

Dr Satyapal

(Lahore)

It was in 1900 when I was studying for my B. A Examina tion, that I had the privilege of touching the feet of Lokmanya

Tilak, when he attended the session of Indian National Congress held at Lahore. He produced an indelible impression on my mind. I was too young then to appreciate all the exceptional qualities of head and heart of Lokmanya Tilak but this much I can recollect even now that Lokmanya stood high among his colleagues and that he had a remarkable personality all his own.

The Punjab has a special affinity for bold and fearless Leaders. It worships them. Lokmanya Tilak has therefore a sacred and secure place in the hearts of the people of this province. Thinking of the hold Lokmanya had on the imagination of the Punjabees, Sir Michael O'Dwyer the notorious Lieutenant governor of this province had arbitrarily prohibited the entry of Lokmanya in our province. But as usual paying no heed to such illegal and unjustified orders, Lokmanya Tilak attened the memorable session of the Congress held at Amritsar in 1919 and then Amritsar in particular and the Punjab in general accorded a very warm, rousing and enthusiastic reception to Lokmanya. This was the first opportunity offered to the Punjab Public in general to show their hearty devotion for Lokmanya and it is indeed very pleasing to say that the people took full advantage of the occasion. The people flocked in thousands to have 'Darshan' of this indomitable foe of slavery and subjugation Every one was anxious to pay his homage to the then uncrowned king of India. I can easily recall to my mind the events of that Congress. He was honoured, nay he was worshipped. People heard him with rapt attention and people obeyed him In him the people of the Punjab found a leader, in whom they would have unbounded faith and to whom they will give whole-hearted allegiance I deem it to be a grave misfortune for our Motherland that Lokmanya did not survive long after that Congress His presence would have been of immense value and gain to the country, at all times but far more so, when the country is passing through a critical juncture.

My devotion for Lokmanya Tilak has always been very great. Not only am I a Bhakta of his bold and fearless patriotism but also

an ardent admirer of his erudite learning and a devotee of his Master Mind. It is therefore that when I learnt that Lokmanya has written a marvellous book on Gita and its teachings in Marathi I resolved to learn the Marathi language in order to read the book in original. I succeeded in doing so and I have read that wonderful treatise several times and have deeply profitted by it. After having read that book I wrote a few letters to Lokmanya Tilak regarding certain points raised in that book and I got very encouraging replies. I had resolved to go to Poona and sit at the feet of the Great Master but to my ill luck very soon after Lokmanya was no more in this land of the living He had shattered these bonds and had reached an abode where grief toucheth not and where there is nothing but eternal peace

I pay my respectful homage to this worthy son of our Motherland and I am convinced that the change of policy of the Congress from supplications to self help is entirely due to Lokmanya s efforts. Days of respectful protests are gone India now is conscious of its self-respect and it is fervently hoped that the small seed so very carefully sown by Lokmanya and watered with his blood is bound to result into a big blossoming tree of Independence

Nothing but Independence can now satisfy the souls of Indians and India means to attain that Independence come what may When such a goal is attained then shall the people of those times shout with delight and devotion Long live Lokmanya whose sacrifices and sufferings have enabled India to attain this much desired goal.

Khurshed F Nariman

(B A., L L B M L C Bombay)

It would seem rather presumptuous on the part of a mere political pigmy like me to attempt to write a political review of the

life and work of the Great National Patroist-Lokmanya Tilak. Not being his contemporary I can only pay my tribute as a Political Chela rather than a critic.

There have been many lucky accidents in my life and it was one of such accidents that brought me to Poona at an early age to be reared up and educated in the Capital City of "Maharashtra" which was considered in these days by the Beauraucrats as the hot-bed of Sedition, but in the eyes of a Patriot it was a place of political pilgrimage, where the devotees from all parts of the Country came to make their offerings and pay homage to this human diety of Freedom and Emancipation, symbolised in the sacred person of "The Late Lokmanya Tilak". Though lodged in a family of super-loyalists and brought up in an atmosphere and surroundings unhealthy and unsuited for the development of proper political mentality, still inspiring influence of this one Great Man in the city not only wiped out the evil effects of those uncongenial surroundings but also helped a great deal in moulding and forming a mentality and character often described by my friends as peculiarly "Tilakite" and Maharashtrian mentality; that gay City of Poona is usually full of social attractions and alluring entertainments, still nothing attracted me more than closely to watch and follow the political activities of that Great Maharashtrian Leader, when all my school mates and friends spent their evenings either at the band-stand, races or clubs, my principle, and at times only pasttime, was to take part in the political function where Lokmanya was to preside and speak. Very often in very crowded gatherings, I was the only Parsi lad gaping in admiration, occupying a remote corner, unnoticed and unobserved, silently imbibing the Political lessons that have stood me in great stead in my after life.

Not only during my leisure hours but very often I took what is described by School children as "French Leave" from my school and slyly left the room unobserved by my Teacher and ran straight to the meeting place where Lokmanya was to attend; thus

that was the only pleasure of my youth and my only political training

I still very well recollect the impression and the effects that were thus produced on my youthful mind creating a sort of enthusiasm and fiery spirit that even in my school and college days would not tolerate or submit to any act of humiliation or injustice

I do not think it to be out of place to narrate here some interesting incidents that had happened in my college days. When I was a student in the Deccan College, once a European Professor spoke in terms of disparagement about Lokmanya Tilak believing that the docile audiance of the students would be a safe place for such outburst and the students would not venture to raise a protest. Comparatively a junior I was then occupying an insignificant seat in a back bench of the class-room, I stood up mustered courage and muttered some words of protest that I do not recollect now left the lecture hall, followed by a few other students and thereafter in a public meeting of students held in the college denounced the cowardly action of the professor and challanged him to face this Maharastrian Lion in his den instead of seeking protection in the safe resorts of his colleg-eprecincts. The matter was reported to the higher authorities and severe disciplinary action was contemplated, but after some consideration it was thought that discretion was better part of valour and the matter was dropped.

But the students had not entirely forgotten the insult and when another occasion arose they were not slow in seizing an opportunity of paying that insolent professor in his own coins It will be remembered that one of the greatest works of the late Lokmanya was "the Arctic Home of the Vedas" written not in a commodious or comfortable library room, with all the fascilities and convenience that are enjoyed by authors but compiled in the secluded and obscure corner of a prison cell, completely isolated from the world out-side These volumes were so full of learning philosophy and deep logic that when they were sent to that same

swell-headed professor of our college, in his capacity as an editor of a literary journal, for a review, the poor professor, inspite of all his learning and high Western educational attainments, could not make head or tail out of it He consulted some of his learned collegues, but even that combination of various intellect and brain power could not probe into the deep philosophy and learning of these bulky volumes , still it was incumbent on that unfortunate professor, as an editor of a literary journal, to take a review of these works and the fact of Lokmanya being the author of these volumes, this review must, from his standpoint, be critical and adverse So this blank-headed professor had to leave the contents and the subject-matter of the volumes severely alone for the simple reason that he could not understand them, hence in his review he adversely criticised the binding, the printing, the size, the shape and the general appearence of these volumes, and seemed to be quite satisfied with his achievements that he had after all succeeded in passing some adverse criticisms on the works of Lokmanya. However, a few days after, the professor was sadly disillusioned as, "The Maratha Punch" a day or two after the said review, published very ingenious caricature and prints wherein the said professor was discribed in prominent types as a 'Book-binder' and depicted in the caricature with a heavy hammer in hand trying to bind these volumes properly and put the pages in order. We managed to get several copies of this vernacular journal and placed some prominently on the professor's table as well as hung on several places in the lecture room Shortly before his lecture hour the professor stepped in in his usual majestic and dignified style, least suspecting the catastrophe of the caricatures awaiting him ; but before he could commence the subject of his lecture, his eyes fell upon the unseemly sight and he at once burst into a temper and left the hall in a huff, threatening to take severe and drastic action against the miscreants if detected.

The students however, greeted the threats with a cry of "Tilak Maharajki Jai" and thanked the skilful caricaturist for being

instrumental in getting them an un-expected half holiday Such are some of the humorous and at the same time instructive incidents connected with my college life what was described in these days as a mischievous spirit of the youth but that gradually developed with advancing years into a real spirit of man hood, befitting one for the responsibility of the citizenship far better than years of lectures and studies in schools and colleges could have done

Perhaps from a strict disciplinarian point of view these incidents might be objected to as betraying and encouraging a spirit of revolt in the students but these incidents also show how the presence of this great personality in the City created a wholesome effect on the minds and mentality not only of youths but also of adults of the whole province.

All celebrations in the whole of Maharashtra in connection with the Late Lokmanya either in the shape of anniversaries or memorials, should be with one main object viz. to review and keep alive for ever the real Maharashtrian spirit of which the Great Lokmanya was the noblest and truest Symbol.

Sir M Visvesvaraya

(K C I E Ex Dewan of Mysore, Bengalore)

Mr Tilak was building up his career as a political leader during the time I resided in Poona between the years 1891 and 1908. According to the political temper of the times he was regarded as an extremist politician and it was only at rare intervals that I came in contact with him.

His paper the "Kesari" published in Poona was widely read and it was mainly by his speeches and teachings in the "Kesari" and the "Mahratta" that Poona came to be regarded as a stronghold of Indian Nationalism.

I admired Mr Tilak's independent thinking his courage and his consistency but did not altogether approve his methods of

political warfare, or of his hostility to the other two great leaders of those days, namely, Mr. M. G. Ranade and Mr G. K Gokhale, with whose views I was in closer touch I should not omit to mention that the attitude of Mr N. C Kelkar, his colleague in this press compaign, was more conciliatory and often helped to soften controversies.

Mr. Tilak knew that freedom would not come without great struggles, so he was prepared to take risks and he laboured ceaselessly He was a deep scholor and a vigorous thinker, but it is chiefly as an intrepid fighter, a sturdy patriot and a great leader that his name will go down to posterity

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Choithram P. Gidwani.

(Doctor, Hyderabad, Sind)

My first meeting with Lokmanya Tilak took place in 1915 when I went to see him in Poona along with Swami Anand and some Sindhi friends His simplicity of manners and sweetness of conversation so impressed me that I could then realize the secret of his hold on masses.

Again it was in 1916 at Lucknow that I was favoured with his Darshan. The following incident which took place on L Tilak's arrival at Lucknow station at the time of Congress will show the extent of love masses bore to him. Organisers of the Congress, which was then in the hands of moderates had, no intention of taking Lok. Tilak in procession. They had arranged for a motor car which was to take him directly to where arrangements for his stay were made But the people who had gathered at the station insisted on having a procession and wanted to drive Lokmanya's carriage themselves When they found that their wishes were not going to be granted, several of them stood in front of the motor car and declared their refusal to allow it to proceed. Realising that the people were bent upon honouring Lokmanya by taking him in pro-

cession, the organisers had to yield to their wishes. A carriage was immediately ordered and Lokmanya was taken in procession in the carriage driven by people. On the way he was given a most cordial and grand reception at every stage

During the last world war Lokmanya was not in favour of rendering help to the British unconditionally He wanted to take advantage of the situation by bargaining as much as possible for services to be rendered. In reply to my letter asking for his views on the question of enrolment in Defence Force, he wrote that our assistance to Government should be on condition of their promise to give us our rights. Had other leaders shown at that time as much political insight as was shown by Lokmanya, such an oppor tunity for coaching a large measure of rights would not have been lost.

During Lokmanya's tour in Sindh I was constantly in his company Royal receptions were accorded to him in every town (he visited and offerings in the shape of purses were laid at his eet What a devotion people of Sindh showed to him !

My last Darshan of Lokmanya was in 1920 when he atten ded the All India Congress meeting held at Benares. Khilafat movement was started just then and preparations were being made for launching non-co-operation movement. Lokmanya told me that he had no objection to his advising Hindus to join the movement provided Mohamedans were sincerely bent upon non-co-operating with Government. He was himself prepared to go to jail again in spite of the old age but he wanted others to follow him

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Sir Valentine Chirol

(Author of "Indian Unrest" "India Old and New" "India" London)

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was a Poona Brahman of the Chitpawan caste who claim descent from a stock specially favoured by the

Gods. No other caste has, perhaps, produced in our time so many men of commanding ability and force of character, whether prepared to tread the new paths of Western progress or determined to stand fast in the ancient ways of orthodoxy. To the latter school belonged Tilak, the most striking personality in the India of our times, except, perhaps, Gandhi, whose essential gentleness and humility he lacked, whilst he possessed on the other hand far greater gifts of intellect and far more political acumen. Mr. Tilak belonged by birth to a powerful Deccani Brahman caste with hereditary traditions of rulership. He was a man of considerable Sanskrit learning whose researches into the ancient lore of Hinduism commanded respectful attention amongst European as well as Indian scholars. Whatever one may think of his politics and of his political methods, he was an astute politican skilled in all the ways of political opportunism. With a stubborn and arrogant faith in his religion and his race, he was a born leader of men and a ruthless fighter, though he fought not with the sword, but, as became his caste, which ranks higher than the warriors', with his pen and his tongue. He spoke and wrote Englsih well, and of his own rugged Mahratta language he was an inscomparable master. When he first appeared on the scene the progressive school represented in Western India by the Prarthana Samaj had got a strong foothold even in Poona under the leadership of Western-educated Hindus like Ranade and Chandavarkar and Bhandarkar who held strongly that if the National Congress which they had just helped to found was to win for India her political advancement on the lines of Western self-government, Hinduism must begin by emancipating itself from the thraldom of antiquated customs and beliefs which were themselves a perpetual challenge to Western ideals of human freedom. Such men were in Tilak's eyes the mere satellites and slaves of British rule and had to be crushed before any successful assault could be made on British rule itself. With an eloquence as full of religious imagery as that of any Roundhead, Tilak thundered against them in the Press and on

the platform and his followers bore them down by sheer weight of numbers and intimidation.

He could then stand forth as the undisputed leader of extreme orthodoxy and his next campaign was waged against Lord Lansdowne's Age of Consent Bill of 1890 The law itself, he maintained, was sacred and immutable and he indignantly denounced an alien Government for venturing to draw down the wrath of the Gods on a subject-people by changing even so much as an iota of it. He struck there a chord to which all Hindus whether Brahmans or of much lower castes, were certain to respond, and the agitation against the Bill travelled far beyond the confines of the Mahratta country The Bill itself, nevertheless, passed into law with the full support of the more courageous reformers and the more timid approval of others. It was, however a Pyrrhic victory for the opposition had been so fierce that Government never again ventured to initiate legislation on any matters which might be deemed, how ever unreasonably to impinge on the domain of Hindu religious and social custom.

Conscious of his growing power outside the Deccan Tilak neglected no means of strengthening his hold on his own people To the prestige of his high caste he added an intimate familiarity with the habits of thought and speech of his Mahrattas, and he knew how to play on their religious emotions when he gave a new meaning to the cult of their favourite God the elephant-headed Ganesh or Ganapati by making his festivals the occasion of popular demonstration in which he grafted a new hatred of British rule on to the old hatred of Mohammedan domination, still kept burning fiercely in their folk-songs and semi-religious plays. He used them especially to revive the memory of the great Shivaji the glorious protector of the Brahman and of the sacred Cow who never laid his victorious sword aside until he had freed Maharashtra from the alien yoke Tilak was the first Indian to study European politics for the lessons to be drawn for use in India from Western methods of agitation. His "Rent campaign, during a severe famine in 1896

was borrowed from the Irish Land League. A far more effective handle was given to him in the measures taken by Government to deal with the first great outbreak of the bubonic plague in our times in India. The British authorities, taken unawares by the suddenness and the violence of the epidemic, tried to stamp it out by drastic measures, sometimes not very wise or very wisely carried out, such as house-to-house visitations and segregation camps, more terrifying to the ignorant populace than the plague itself. Tilak denounced them as an oppressive invasion of the Hindu Home outraging the sanctity of its domestic shrines and the modesty of its sheltered women, and stirred up a desperate temper of resentment and resistance which was soon ripe for murder. And murder followed.... But no direct connection was ever established between the murderer and Tilak. The former was hanged, and the latter, though prosecuted shortly afterwards for a seditious article and condemned to two years imprisonment, was released before the completion of his term But murder had made its first appearance under British rule as a method of political agitation, and, though it was not to reappear for another ten years, the seed had been sown and ultimately yielded a terrible harvest.

In 1908 Tilak had been transported to Mandalay under a sentence of six years' imprisonment passed upon him by an Indian Judge for seditious articles "preaching violence and speaking of murders with approval " His term of imprisonment had expired just before the beginning of the war and he at first observed with creditable self-restraint the covenant on which he had been allowed to return to his home at Poona. But in 1916 he emerged from his retirement and resumed his old propaganda for SWARAJ as the only means of redeeming India from slavery to the West. If it was at first in schools and colleges that this propaganda provoked the most tumultuous enthusiasm, it soon swept the Indian National Congress once more off its feet, and when Tilak in company with Mrs. Besant stepped on to the platform for the first time since his

six years internment in Mandalay they were both acclaimed al most like incarnations of the Deity

Extract from "India" (in 1920)

BY SIR V CHIROL.

N M Shah

(M A (Cambridge) Principal (New Poona College Poona)

I met Lok. Tilak for the first (and unfortunately also the last) time at Cambridge on the 1st of June 1919 He stayed there for two days I was very busy with my studies as the Schedule A examination of the Mathematical Tripos Part II had just finished and the Schedule B examination was to commence on the 2nd of June Hence I could not go to the station to receive Lok. Tilak and the party on their arrival. It was arranged however that I should meet them at a lunch party at one of my friends. But as Lok. Tilak had been taking a very keen and personal interest in the future of the New Poona College started only in 1916 he made inquiries about me soon after his arrival and to my great surprise came to the Trinity College along with Mr N C Kelkar to see me I used to stay in an attic on the second floor and as Lok. Tilak had sprained his leg he could not ascend the stairs He sent me word that he was waiting below and would like to meet me if I could spare time I went downstairs and Lok Tilak was all apologetic for his inability to ascend the stairs and for disturbing me in my studies. That such a great man, before whom I was nobody should be so considerate about others however humbly placed increased my admiration for him. I left my studies and we went out canoeing on the river Cam. The two hours we spent on the river that day gave me an opportunity of learning at first hand his views on the most important topics of the day He seemed to me to stand head and shoulders above most of the so-called Indian leaders of the day As a student I had

scrupulously avoided politics It struck me, however, that Mr. Tilak was not at all the rabid extremist he was represented to be. Whether he had purposely become moderate in the expression of his opinions during his stay in England I cannot say.

In the evening Lok Tilak attended a meeting of the Indian Majlis and addressed the Indian students. I attended the meeting with an English friend who was a socialist Towards the end of the speech Mr. Tilak exhorted the Indian students to work for the uplift of the Motherland. Finally when he inquired if any one had already made up his mind on the point, and would be prepared to give him a promise, most of them replied that they could not commit themselves without consulting their parents. Only one Brahmin student from Poona boldly declared that although he was trying for the I. C S., he had made up his mind to resign after passing the examination and devote himself to the service of India and work for its uplift This was the only response and Lok Tilak who had sacrificed so much for our country was naturally disappointed His speech impressed even those Englishmen who had come with some preconceived notions against him My socialist friend, however, was altogether disappointed and expressed his feelings in no uncertain terms — "Shah, if these are your extremist politicians, I would not care to hear your moderates" At the end of the meeting I bade Lok Tilak good bye, little realising then that it was my last opportunity of meeting him.

S. A Brelvi.

(Editor The Bombay Chronicle, Bombay.)

I am one of the humblest admirers of Lokamanya Tilak who, more than any other Indian leader, stirred the imagination of my student days and stimulated my love of the country. It is one of

the greatest regrets of my life that I did not come in personal contact with him though I could have created opportunities of meeting him during the last two or three years of his life However one of the proudest moments of my life is that when I first had the privilege of meeting him and talking with him in Belgaum when the Provincial Conference was held there I called on him at the bunglow where he was staying to pay my respects to him. The impressions of this conversation are one of the happiest of my memories. What struck me more than any thing else was the simplicity and directness of his manners and the accessibility to the humblest which made him a true democrat and leader of men.

Swami Govindanand

(M A., Editor Kesari Karachi)

I first met the late Lokmanya B. G Tilak at Poona in his own house in January 1920 After the Rawlatt Act Satyagraha movement of 1919 I had, under invitation from Mahatma Gandhi, gone to Bombay to work with him in the Young India. It was the first time that I came into close contact with this Great man. I lived with him for a short time and found that I could not agree and work with him. His Charkha and Khadi movement could not appeal to me Till this day I remain unconvinced. For aught I know that Mahatmaji s insistence upon the Khadi and the spinning has ruined our political movement in India. I was and am a Communist. I was attracted towards the Mahatma for I believed him to be a perfect communist. But my close contact with him brought me utter disappointment, as it has to many other patriots and nationalists Mahatmaji is a greater lover and admirer of those who flatter him, sing his praises and own unconditional allegiance to him and all his fads specially the Charkha. Differ from him on the Charkha and you immediately fall in his estimation and he will give you no quarter Another trait of Mahatmaji s character

is that he is a flatterer of the Rich Plutocrats. Unfortunately I lacked in these qualifications I was not a rich Sethia and I could not flatter Mahatmaji and hence I had to leave Mahatmaji. No rising patriot is given any encouragement by Mahatmaji unless he becomes his flattering disciple, worships his feet and sings hypocritical Aratis of the spinning wheel and the Khadi or is the son of a rich Sethia. Rather he supresses all promising and rising ability.

I left Mahatmaji about September 1919 and with the help of a few Gujarati and Karnatiki gentlemen started a Vedanta Ashram in Bombay, for I believe and still believe that the Salvation of India and the world will come through the Vedantic Communism, of which in my humble opinion, Swami Vivekananda and his master Sri Ramkrishna were in the last century the mightiest apostles I made a little name in Bombay My lectures on the Vedantic Communism and Communistic Swarajya were immensely appreciated by all sections of the people in Bombay.

And it was in response to an invitation from Poona to expound my Vedanta and Communism that I came to Poona in the month of January 1920. Unfortunately not one of those who invited me came to meet me at the Poona Station In these days I was observing the strict vows of Sanyasa I never carried any money with me. Not meeting my hosts at the Station, I did not know what to do. I passed the night at the Dharmashalla and next morning wended my way to the Gaikwadwada I met Lokmanya Tilak. This was the first time that I had a Darshana of the Great man I narrated to him the circumstances under which I had come to Poona. I also introduced myself to him He arranged for my lecture on the "Mission of the Vedanta." At my request he agreed to preside I was assured by him that he was mightily impressed with my lecture.

We then had many a long conversation on the Vedanta, swami Vivekanand and allied topics. He showed me his almirahs of books he had studied before he wrote his monumental treatise on the

Gita" in the Mandalay Prison. Swaraj was the only passion of his life. It was the soul of his very existence and so the Lokmanya could not omit to talk to me about his programme and policy of winning Swarajya for India. I was a staunch lover of complete Independence. I never belived in British connection for I believe that India has a noble mission towards the whole World and this my Mother cannot fulfil until She is absolutely independent. I was therefore a boycotter of the Montford Reforms and Councils.

In his conversation he urged on me to work the Congress programme The Amritsar Congress had adopted a resolution in favour of working the Reforms for what they were worth. I was opposed to that resolution. I told the Lokmanya that I was sorry that he should have been a party to such a disgraceful resolution. His reply was charactristic. He said that while he was personally ready for any the strongest and most extremistic programme he must also see whehether the people were ready to work that programme No commander however fearless and resourceful he be can afford to go beyond the strength and readiness of the army under his command Look at your Mahathma and Pundit Malaviya. They were opposed even to this mild resoution of Responsive Cooperation. But if the country be ready for Boycott, he would be the first man to preach it from the housetops.

Coming to the Congress resolution of Responsive Co-operation he unravelled to me his practical scheme of working that resolution. He wanted to form a Congress Democratic Party which was to run its own candidates for the Montford Councils and Assembly And he argued with me at great length as to the practical good that will result th refrom. He assured me that the propoganda carried on in the electioneering compaign will be so fruitful of saturating the masses with the love of Swarajya and practical politics that it will be worth while for men like me to put heart and soul in this part of the Congress work And he opined that this work being entirely

under the Constitution, the Government dare not touch any worker. He felt that the Reforms defective as they were, designed to trick India away from Swarajya, possessed the much needed quality of legalising our Political Agitation. The Political agitator under the Reforms ran very little risks and the workers should now fully exploit them for this one purpose viz. carrying on vigorous agitation in the country for Swarajya, for after all, it is only agitation that will get us Swarajya.

I saw considerable force in this argument and I was almost converted to his view. He wanted me to undertake a tour to foreign countries on behalf of the Congress to agitate against Britain. He had very great faith in foreign Propaganda, as he had in agitation in India

I met him again in the month of February 1920 at Bombay in the Sirdar Griha. I was approached by my Sindhi friends to request Lokmanya to pay a short visit to Sindh. Lokmanya readily agreed, only stipulating that I should accompany him to Sind. I gave my consent and in the month of March, I met him at Delhi, wherefrom he came down to Sindh. He was mightily impressed with the enthusiastic receptions he was accorded whenever he went to Sindh.

Mahatma Gandhi had now announced his non-violent non-co-operation movement, though as yet he had not opened the question of the Bycott of Councils or the Prince of Wales Reception While in Sindh, he (Tilak) advised us all to work the Amritsar Congress Resolution. He told us that he was going to form the Congress Democratic Party under whose auspices or rather lead he wanted the country to fight the coming elections For this purpose he was anxious to be present at the Sholapur Political Conference and was obliged to cut short his programme in Sind I remember he told us in informal conversations at Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkar, Shikarpur and Jacobabad that while he fully believed in the superiority of the Satyagraha movement over the Responsive Co-operation

he doubted if the people were sufficiently ready to practise the former and he was resolutely opposed to mingling up the Khilafat question with the Swarajya movement. He wanted the National movement of India to keep entirely free from all contamination with any theological or foreign Political questions. He foresaw the frightful consequences resulting therefrom as by a prophetic vision and warned us all against them. To those Hindu Nationalists, who said that they did not believe a word of this Khilafat, but still had agreed to agitate for it only to secure the friendship and active cooperation of the Muslims in our national fight for freedom, the Late Lokamanya had only one reply that if the Hindus think that they shall succeed in deceiving the Muslims, they shall soon be disillusioned and will find that they shall succeed in deceiving themselves only and never the Muslims who are very shrewd on the diplomatic table. Let us not therefore confound issues. Let us seek the Muslim cooperation on the broad national question of Swarajya. In that by all means give them special privileges if those will satisfy them and bring them into the congress fold, but never seek to introduce theology into your politics.

As regards Mahatma's Non-Cooperation movement, while he was very doubtful of its success he told us that if he were convinced that the People were ready for the many mighty sacrifices which this movement demanded of them and that it contained 50% chances of success, he would take the risks and whole-heartedly go in for it. He frankly told us that he was not yet convinced and yet he was generous enough to say that he would never oppose Mahatma. He will allow him full freedom to work his movement and put his ideas in practice and render him all the help he was capable of rendering though he would not shoulder the responsibility or lead it himself. That shows the greatness of this Patriot Son of India. I wish the other leaders of India possessed this generosity of the Lokmanya. He wanted Swarajya and if he felt he was not yet called upon to lead a more extremistic movement he will never put any obstacles in the path of those

who were ready to lead such movement. He gave them his advice, encouragement and blessings and assured them of all help and even active co-operation if they showed by actual results that their movement would bring India nearer to Swarajya even though it be by a hair's breadth. Such a great man, with such vast following, yet entirely devoid of any taint of egoism, was this Lokmanya The ruling passion of his heart was his Country's Freedom. And he believed that that Freedom could only be won by organising the patriotic sons and daughters of India into a unified army of India's Liberation. And he instinctively felt that the Congress was the only organisation under whose aegis and banner such an army could be organised He, therefore, till the last moment of his life, remained absolutely loyal to the Congress Rebellion against the congress was a thing which he would never tolerate Let us, following the example of the late Lokmanya, rally round the congress learning that much needed quality of self-abnegation which will impel us to forget our little egoisms and egoistic programmes and policies, and unite, as one man to work for our country's liberation.

Moulavi Leakut Hassain

(Calcutta)

Reminiscences of Sjt Bal Gangadhar Tilak have been published by many distinguished persons and many instances of the vast gift of his head and heart have reached the public by this time. I now endeavour to dilate upon some unique aspects in his character and personality.

There are many leaders in our country, they work in different spheres of life But he was a maker of leaders. His principle was to deeply impress upon his disciples and friends the consciousness of their duties to the motherland and their relative rights. A short

discourse with him made the most sceptic a warm lover of the country His speeches were invigorating and inspired the most despondent and despairing persons to espouse the country s cause the only goal in life Whatever he uttered were facts and truths only and indicative of the way to freedom.

The direst ordeal of the leaders in our country-nay in any country-is imprisonment. Bal Gangadhar Tilak proved in and by his life that such imprisonments are blessings and honour; for patriotism is no crime though it may seem so to those who try to stifle it by punishments. Imprisonments he proved, are the keys to open the door of Swaraj

It was Bal Gangadhar Tilak who was the founder of the Swarajya Party Hence his admirers the members of the Swarajya party raised a fund in his name viz the Tilak Swarajya Fund to perpetuate his memory Mahatma Gandhi and his followers launched the political struggle in the way suggested and indicated by him.

During the agitation of the Partition of Bengal, he came to attend the Congress held in Calcutta presided over by the late lamented Dadabhai Nowroji It was then I met him first and formed his friendship in the course of various meetings in connection with that Congress

The first Shivaji Utsava was held in Calcutta and he was invited to preside on that occasion. Mr Khaparde and Dr Moonje accompanied him both the times.

His death was a shock to the country and the people throughout the l ngth and breadth of India mourned his loss in public meetings. Here in Calcutta I organised one to pay my tribute unto him along with others. I herewith, send the mournful song that was sung by the procession organised by me the English translation of which is given below—

Come one and all in this day of sorrow
and sing of Tilak's Glorious fame,
Whose greatness makes our nation proud
who kept unsoiled our India's name.
Lay his Image in the niche of your heart
Pour out your soul's gold myrrh and flower.
Whose blessings sure will shield us all
We die but cannot shame our motherland.
From North and South and East and West
come Hindus come and Islams heirs.
Come and fly to your mother's arms
Prove mostly of her loving cares
If o'er the sands of life our soul
should break and fill with rayless gloom.
Thy nectared name shall be our balm
And ours shall be fadeless bloom.

Deepchund M Javeri

(Merchant, London.)

You asked me to write about Late Lokamanya Tilak when he with Mr N. C Kelkar and with his friends was staying in my house about four months in 1919 No words of mine will express my innermost feelings about the greateness of Lok. Tilak. To my mind he was a deep politician and his power to see the things in every detail was so great that he was telling the result I mean future. He was always ready for the betterment of our Indian people and in doing so no sacrifice was too great to him. He was ready to pay the price in full and he paid when time demanded. I will always remember him and his work and I am always talking among my friends that new generation whenever they read his work will worship his great name and will follow his footsteps

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George Joseph

(M A Barrister-at Law Madura)

My contact with the Lokamanya was necessarily brief and inconsequential in the light of big events. But such as it is here is the account of my personal touch.

It arose out of the political deputations which went to Europe in the spring of 1918 There were three of us from the Madras Presidency Manjeri Rama Iyer, B. V Narasinha Iyer and myself and we were joined afterwards by Syud Husain and Pundit Iqbal Narain Gurtu. We represented Mrs. Besant s Home Rule League and it was understood that Tilak was going out to represent his own League Our party were going from Bombay and since it was the worst time of the war there was some discussion as to the safety of the trade routes I was naturally anxious to travel in the same boat with him, if possible I wrote and asked him about his plans and he wrote me a most charming letter The substance of it was that he was taking the Cape route but the thing which impressed me most was the kindness of the letter It was long and detailed running into several pages, and every line of it was written in his clear and beautiful hand.

As is well known our Deputation was never allowed to get to England. We were turned back at Gibraltar The worst of it was that the War Cabinet interfered with us after we had run the gauntlet of the Austrian submarines the whole length of the Mediterranean and we had to do it once again on the way back. Mr Tilak was more luky for he was told in Colombo that he would not be allowed through.

Later in the year it fell to my lot to convey to him a message from the Government of India. A well known public man happened to be travelling in the boat which took us to India. He was in the confidence of the Indian Government When the Tilak s journ y to England was barred a curious situation arose He was

interested not only in the political mission of his Home Rule League, but also in the action against Sir Valentine Chirol It was felt it was a hard thing that he should be kept away at the time his action came on for hearing; and there was considerable criticism in the Press. The Government was prepared to give a pass-port if Tilak gave a condition that as long as he was in England he would confine himself to the business of the case. But they were not sure how he would take it. The man who travelled with me wrote me to inform Mr. Tilak that the pass-port could be had on such condition, and he wanted me to write to the Lokamanya. I did write and the pass-port was subsequently issued in those terms. I believe he was released from the condition later after getting to England, I believe, at Mr. Montagu's instance.

The Hon. Dr. W. A. De. Silva.

(Colombo, Ceylon.)

Early in April 1918 a party of distinguished Indians came to Ceylon if possible to take a steamer from Colombo to London. It was during the war. The Government of Ceylon had no objection to give them the necessary permits to take steamer from Colombo However before the date of sailing, instructions were received from the Government of India that they did not consider it desirable that the particular deputation should go to England at the time and, even if they were allowed by the Ceylon Government to embark here, that no permission will be given to them to land in England at the time. The deputation had to remain in Colombo for some time and as they found that the Indian Government was quite determined in their attitude and refused to relax their decision, the members of the deputation had to return to India much against their wishes.

The members of this deputation were Lok. B G Tilak, Mr. G. S. Khaparde, R P. Karandikar, N C. Kelkar and Bipin Chandra

Pal. To us their presence among us was a source of inspiration and pleasure

Lanka after all was a Colony of India and our long history shows, that the Sinhalese Nation was built up by a fusion of many Indian races each one of whom brought their spirit of adventure and experience knowledge and daring when they come to the land of the Raakshasas and built up a culture of which we are justly proud. And so the presence of so many leaders from India, each from a District that had much to do with the culture of the people of the Island was an event that arrested the attention of our own people These guests were received with brotherly welcome by the people of Ceylon.

During this period I met Lok B. G Tilak almost daily and had long and interesting talks with him.

To me he was one who cannot be described or judged by the ordinary words or measures that are in common use at the present time; for we must remember when we write in the English language our words bear a significance in keeping with the character and thoughts of the English People Lok. B G Tilak to me was not a 'great man or a "Political leader" nor a 'Teacher" in the English sense He was a *man* in the best sense of the word. In him there was no "practical common sense" which in other words is a compound of some sort of knowledge with the ability to creep through various crevices and emerge at the top; no vision that made him a dreamer of empty dreams. His mind and his thoughts and his bearing personified unwavering frankness the manifestation of truth pure and simple He influenced the world quite unconsciously through this greatest of all possessions and the tribute one can pay him is to endeavour to follow him in his path of truth, frankness and equanimity

Such was the impression left in my mind of Lok Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

John Scurr.

(M.P., Formerly Secretary Home Rule for India League, London.)

I knew the late Mr. Tilak and met him on several occasions I was always impressed with his practical mind. He was a keen nationalist and he desired that his motherland should control her own affairs without outside interference as speedily as possible.

He was prepared to take risks and to suffer for his convictions; but he was also prepared to take every concession as it came along. He was not an impossibilist He was a real statesman and India suffered an irreparable loss when he died.

Sir Hari Sing Gour.

(P. H. D., Barrister-at-Law, M L. A , Nagpur)

I glady respond to your invitation to record my impressions about the late Lokmanya Tilak I met him first in the Bombay Congress where I was immediately struck by his arresting personality I listened to his speech and those who read it now will be struck by the manly tone of straightforward talk he gave to the Government about the future of India I met him again in Nagpur and had the honour to preside at his lecture, and alas, not long after at another meeting to mourn his death When the late Lokmanya visited Nagpur I had frequent opportunities of meeting him Our talk was private but that on his part was singularly outspoken Lokmanya entertained no delusions about finding Swaraj in an easy chair I told him that for the struggle before us we had to conserve and consolidate our forces and I gently hinted at the social upheaval necessary to bring into existence a political renaissance. His answer was as practical as his work In a dinner which his guest gave to his friends, Brahmins and non-Brahmins sat together, and I found myself seated next to Mr. Tilak himself. But with all that Mr.

Tilak was chary of disturbing the social idols which, he thought, had survived the shock of centuries. Like most great men the Lokmanya was conservative by instinct though in politics no one could run before him. All the same he was not impervious to the world movement for the emancipation of man and woman which had then only begun. It became a reality after it had undergone the baptism of the Great War The Lokmanya was then no more He had, however left a political testament sugest ing the formation of a Democratic party In the general elections that followed I was returned to the first Legislative Assembly and was I think, instrumental in bringing into existence an organised opposition which was named the Democratic Party It is not for me to expatiate on the work of that body in the first Assembly but it strove to loyally carry out the political policy of the late Lokmanya.

Though I am neither a Brahmin nor a Maratha, I feel with the best of them the loss of Lokmanya Tilak, for to me the late Lokmanya was neither a Brahmin nor a Marhatha but a true patriot, a fearless champion of popular rights and, above all, one of the staunchest champions of the cause of India.

V O Chidambaram Pillay

(Pleader Koilpatti Madras Presidency)

Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak is my political Guru. From my 21st year that is from 1893, I was closely following his writ ings and speeches on politics They made me feel that India was my country that the British were wrongfully retaining it and that it must be got back from them. Then I considered and discussed with my friens all the ways and means to get it back from them. But I found that none of those ways and means suited the condi tion of my countrymen. I wanted to meet my political Guru and

discuss with him about those ways and means. The Session of the Indian National Congress that was to be held at Surat in 1907 was fastly approaching then. I made up my mind to meet my political Guru at Surat and discuss with him about those ways and means.

Just then our great Patriot Srijut Lala Lajapat Rai, was released from his deported destination It struck me and some of my Madras friends that Lala Lajpat Rai was the proper person to preside over the Congress at Surat. I corresponded by wire with my political Guru and with Babu Arabindo Ghose of Bengal about the matter. We three agreed that Lalaji must be made to preside over the Congress. Then we wired about the matter to Lalaji. Although he was not willing at first to accept the presidentship of the Congress, he finally yielded to our repeated telegraphic requests. Meanwhile our moderated friends nominated our great countryman Dr Rash Bihari Ghose of Bengal to preside over the Congress We three agreed by telegraphic correspondence that we should propose an amendment in the open Session of the Congress that Lalaji should occupy the chair and that we must, for our support, arrange to have with us a large number of nationalist delegates from all provinces. Accordingly we wired to the nationalist leaders of other provinces and they brought a large number of nationalist delegates to Surat We also took a great number of nationalist delegates with us to Surat What all took place at the Congress Pandal and outside of it at Surat have been correctly stated by Mr G. S Khaparde in his letters of 23rd December 1907 to 28th December 1907 that have been published at pages 45, 47 of the "Reminiscences of Lokamanya Tilak" volume II I need not repeat them here.

In Surat two incidents took place, one at the upper story at which my Guru halted and the other at the nationalists' conference that we had in the Ghee Kanta Wadi At the first mentioned place our noon meal was waiting for us for a very long time as my Guru was not able to leave the crowds that were coming by thou-

sands to kiss his feet. At about 3 p m. one of our Surat friends asked the crowds to wait for a few minutes and took my Guru, Babu Arabindo myself and a few others to a back room to have our meals. Having known that we belonged to different castes, and creeds and thinking that my Guru might not like to sit and take his food with us, that Surat friend asked my Guru " May I arrange to serve you the meal in the next room ? " My Guru promptly replied " All patriots are of one and the same caste and creed " and sat amidst us and took his food with us That is his so called Orthodoxy ! At the nationalist Delegates conference a delegate asked my Guru Should we not consider the private character of a person who wants to join our party ? At once my Guru replied " As long as his private character does not affect his public work, we need not look into his private character That was his tolerant spirit ! After the conference was over the delegates of each province assembled there elected their provincial secretary and dispersed I also went away with them having forgot all about my desire to have a discussion with my Guru about the ways and means to get back our country from the British as the split in the Congress was *foremost* in my mind.

In the middle of 1908 I was convicted for sedition and was sentenced to transportation for life After some months my Guru also was convicted for sedition and was sentenced to transportation for six years. On appeal my sentence was reduced to transportation for six years. I was detained in the Central Jails at Coimbatore and was released in 1912 My Guru was detained at Mandalay and was released in 1914 Then we were corresponding with each other about the current political topics of the day However my desire to discuss with him about the ways and means to obtain Swaraj was growing in my heart day by day and I was waiting only for an opportunity to meet him.

About a week prior to the death of Mr G K. Gokhale I received a letter from my Guru directing me to go to Poona at

once. I reached Poona on the night on which Mr. Gokhale died. At that time my Guru was on the Sinhagad Hills Next morning some of his followers went to the hills to bring him to Poona. He reached his residence at about 9 a.m. At once he went to my room and had a short talk with me about my welfare etc. Then he referred to the death of Mr. Gokhale, mentioned to me all his good services to the country and felt very sorry for his death. He wanted to go to Mr. Gokhale's residence and asked me if I liked to go with him there. I said no. He and some of his followers went to Mr. Gokhale's residence and returned home only in the night. He narrated to me what all took place in Mr. Gokhale's residence and also in the cremation ground.

Next morning at about 5 O'clock my Guru went to my sleeping room and took me to his private chambers. He had a talk with me about the European War that was then going on and about a message that he received from some of the Indian Patriots, who were then in Germany. The message was to the effect that certain occasions would arise during the course of the War and that Indians should do such and such things on those occassions. We discussed for two or three days about the advisability, possibility and the probable result of our carrying out the terms of the message. Here my Guru predicted that the occasions referred to in the message might not arise as there were several complications in Europe in connection with the War.

I questioned my Guru about the ways and means to attain Swaraj to our country. He replied to the following effect :—Our country is a vast one. In it there are men of different kinds of tendencies and temperaments. Some say that Swaraj can be obtained by petitions, prayers and protests, while some others say that Swaraj cannot be obtained by all these means. Some say that Swaraj can be obtained by doing away with the heads of the Executive Government, while some others say that only persecu-

tion would follow such acts. Some say that Swaraj can be obtained by a simultaneous revolution throughout the country while some others say that anarchy would be the result. Some say that Swaraj can be obtained by a war with the help of another country while some others say that the country would continue to be a slave under that another country even if it comes out successful in the war

I said "Yes. It is true that different men in our country have different views about the matter But what are we to do?" He replied in the following terms — Let each patriot do what he deems best for his country Let not others put obstacles in his way There is room in our country for different kinds of men and for different kinds of activities. One need not clash with the other Let all acts of construction go on, whatever they and their forms may be. Let not others obstruct those acts. Let no one be disheartened by his failures or sufferings in the course of his work to attain Swaraj Failures will bring knowledge and success.'

I asked him to give me his opinion of the social reform movement. He said that it was a very good movement. If it was so I asked him, why did he not take any active part in that movement. He replied that one should have one object in view and that he should concentrate all his attention and energy to attain that one object. If he allows himself to have more objects than one in view his attention and energy will be diffused and consequently he cannot accomplish any one of those objects. I asked him if the present caste system does not stand in the way of unity among the people of the country He replied "Yes It does stand. Several men including those that are in Government services are working to root out the evils in the present caste system. Why should we interfere in their work, when we have more than enough work to do in another direction?"

I asked him as to the advisability of the patriots accepting Government service. He replied "Yes. I want all Government

Offices, both Civil and Military, to be occupied by real Patriots. If all the Governors and the Governors-in-General are real patriotic Indians, we have then attained Swaraj. I asked him if Patriots can enter Legislative Councils ?. He replied "Yes I want real Patriots to occupy not only all the seats in all the Legislative Councils but also all the seats and offices in all the institutions of the country, which will bring power, influence or money."

I stayed with my Guru for about a week In each of those days he used to take me to his private chambers early morning at about 5 O'clock and to talk to me and to discuss with me there till 10 O'clock in the night When visitors came to see him, I used to retire to my room As soon as the visitors left him, he would come to my room and would take me again to his private chambers. In his talk and discussions with me for about a week, he gave me not even a single occasion to say "Beg your pardon", "I don't follow you" or "Once more please," so clear and so plain and so straight was his talk.

I fear I will be wanting in gratitude if I do not express a word about treatment that was accorded to me during my stay with my Guru For a few days in the beginning he used to sit with me during my morning and evening tea and during my noon and night meals and to take his drink and diet with me His drink and diet were those of diabetic patients Although I did not like their flavour and taste, he used to ask me to taste a little of them every time he drank and ate with me. When I got acquainted with his relations and friends in his house, I prefered to go, sit and take my noon and night meals with them Even then he used to go to me and ask me how I liked the meals etc Neither he nor any of his realations or friends ever asked me to what caste or creed I belonged In short, every one of the inmates of my Guru's house including my Guru treated me as the master of the house. I have not received such kind and respectable treatment even in my father-in-law's house. For entertaining me he arranged for a

music party on a certain evening in his house and also for a mock Indian warfare on another evening in a certain theatre.

When I was about to leave him, how he embraced me I cannot express except by tears from my eyes.

Dr Harold H Mann

(Formerly Principal Agricultural College Poona; Ex-Director of the Agricultural Department Bombay Presidency)

I went to Poona in the year 1907 Before I went there the name of Mr B. G Tilak was very familiar as one of the more advanced of the national leaders, but I first came in contact with him during the intensive temperance agitation in the early part of 1908. Then we sat together on the committee of the Poona Temperance Association, and from the first it was the magnetic quality of Mr Tilak's personality that specially impressed me. If he came into a room, even though I had not seen him, his presence was evident at once and it is by the strength of his personality that I shall always remember him, even more than by his wisdom in discussion or the wide knowledge of public affairs that he showed. Next to this, it was the unbending courage which he exhibited which impressed me very much indeed for during the whole of the agitation, when some others stood aside Mr Tilak never budged from the position which we had taken at the beginning of the picketting movement.

A few months later came the arrest of Mr Tilak in Bombay The news was received like a thunderbolt in Poona. I was at that time Principal of the Agricultural College at Poona but as a personal friend of Mr Tilak I felt his arrest very intensely The students of all the Poona colleges made signs of striking work to show their feeling in the matter and among them the students of my own college realising that I was feeling matters as keenly as

any of them, returned after two hours, and this action, in recognition of our common sympathy with the great leader, has served as a special bond of union between me and that band of students from that day to the present time.

After his return from Mandalay, I saw little of Mr. Tilak, except at a distance, for a number of years, until on the eve of what I thought might be my final departure from Poona in 1920, I called to see him. He was with his great lieutenant, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, and he welcomed me as an old friend He seemed much older than I had known him before, and his eye, while still fiery, was quieter than of old. We talked of the Montagu Chelmsford system of government which was then on the eve of introduction, and in the working of which he seemed inclined, then, to take part. But it was not to be. I returned to India and to Poona, but, in the meantime, he had passed over.

I shall never forget Mr. Tilak He seems to me one of the two or three strongest characters that I have met in my life, and, knowing him even as little as I did, I can understand the devotion with which he was followed, and the influence which he had. His influence will remain with me ever as a vital factor in my life.

M. Asaf Ali

(Bar-at-Law and Advocate, Delhi)

Not till 1908 did I definitely realise what Lok. Tilak stood for, for it was then that I had the occasion to go in the company of a friend, then quite a foremost figure in the momentary politics of the day, to Nagpur and Poona, and see for myself what his precept and example had done for Maharashtra. We stayed at the Gaikwad Wade, the residence of Lok. Tilak

at Poona, and the first thing that struck me was the almost ascetic simplicity of life at the Gaikwad Wada. Small and bear rooms plastered with mud were our "Guests Chambers" and simple vegetarian food was our daily fare. But *one met there men of* ideas and culture young men of energy and patriotism, one of the Natu brothers of the Poona murder Fame Dr Patwardhan, an old man of robust convictions, Mr N C Kelkar the right-hand man of Lok. Tilak, Mr Khadilkar whose pen was believed to have earned for Lok. Tilak the exile in which he then was, were all to to be met there. In mornings and evenings one witnessed the energetic youths of Poona drilling in the courtyard of the Gaikwad Wada, possibly as an exhibition arranged for the visitor who had been invited to deliver an address there. All this atmosphere bespoke the solid foundations Lok. Tilak had laid for a far-reaching struggle for freedom.

After that some nine years elasped before I had an opportunity of setting my eyes for the first time on the Mahratta Hero whose name had become a Mantram ' for national struggle for freedom. It was in 1917 that I saw and heard Lok. Tilak for the first time at the Calcutta Congress. The ovations he received would beggar descriptions. But I felt a strange disappointment when I saw an unprepossessing and hopelessly unassuming and rather reticent person pointed out to me as Lok. Tilak But his face was steady constantly pensive, and critical with his eyes he seemed to be all the time judging and weighing things around him with a strange but distinct indication in his seemingly tired look of a feeling that things were not going with the speed he expected. The Calcutta Congress under the presidency of Dr Besant was, I believe the last but one of the series of the older type of the oratorical demonstrations of the Xmas week. One saw the great stalwarts of the older generation, hold forth in sonorous tones and Victorian Diction distinguished their oratory Surendranath Banerji Bipin Chandra Pal and Jinnah had spoken in support of Mrs Besant s election. When Lok. Tilak was called upon, he

stepped forward in his Mahratta rigolette in contrast with Surendranath Banerji's English dress with the look and appearance of a critical and thoughtful person, conscious of his position; and treating the tremendous ovation, which was his share, with indifference, began in an atmosphere of tense silence with a poor voice and impressive accents "I have neither the oratorical powers of Mr. Banerji nor the trumpet voice of Mr Pal nor even lucid expression of Mr Jinnah and so forth." But inspite of his poor voice and rather simple language he was listened to with intense interest and was lustily cheered throughout his speech.

The second occasion I had of studying him at close quarters was when he came to Delhi in 1920 to attend the first mixed conference of leaders to consider the proposed programme of N. C O. He addressed a public meeting which was presided over by Swami Shradhanand and the grounds of the so-called "Shahid Hall" were packed to overflowing He spoke in English and it fell to my lot to give a report of his speech in Urdu He had a wonderful power of appealing to the deepmost sentiments of his audience, although his voice and rhetorical art were obviously limited. The simile drawn from the Hindu Scriptures of the churning of the Universal ocean, the discovery of the *Ratnas*, the deterring gift of "Poison" preceding the final gift of "Life Everlasting 'Amrit" was most aptly made use of by Lok. Tilak, in showing that the attainment of freedom, the birth-right of man, must necessarily involve the precedence of "Suffering" But about the most original thing he said that day was in the nature of a confession He said that his advocacy of freedom was not prompted by any thoughts of serving humanity or the Indian nation, but it was a phase of his mentality, which no considerations would affect It was, he said, mysterious urge in him and he could not help it even if he wanted

Finally I saw him in conference with the leaders at Hakim Ajmal Khan's residence After hearing the discussion of the N C. O programme for some time he desired to go and keep a

previous appointment while the discussion was still in progress and some of the leaders were still torn in doubts and guesses. They wanted him to stay till the end; but he quietly said "whatever may be your decision, you may take it that I agree with it, for I am ready to go much further than your programme;" and he left. I felt that it fixed the warriors; for those who were fencing to whittle down the programme felt as small and within a few minutes of his departure the proposed manifesto was agreed to in principle and a sub-committee was apopinted to draft it.

This is the sum of my personal reminiscences of Lok. Tilak. One could write volumes about his personality and teachings but that must be left to Mr Bapat.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

(M L A. Founder of the Hindu University at Benares Allahabad)

Mr Bapat has been pressing me for some time to send him my reminiscences of my esteemed friend Lokmanya Tilak. I am sorry that owing to the pressure of other work I was not able so long to comply with the request. But Mr Bapat s persistance and patience have triumphed and I am sincerely glad I am able to jot down a few notes which I hope may be of some interest to the reader

I met Mr Namjoshi a man of remarkable intelligence and energy who was a close friend of Mr Tilak and who co-operated with him in starting the New English School at Poona, and later on in establishing the Deccan Education Society and the Fergusson College at the third Indian National Congress at Madras. I then heard of the ideal of the service of the motherland through education that had led Tilak, Namjoshi and their colleagues to found the Deccan Education Society to make cheap and healthy education

available to the young generation. They became life-members of the Society and were joined very soon by several young capable scholars, Gokhale being one of them. A life-member of the Society bound himself to serve the institution of the Society for a period of twenty years on the small salary of Rs. 75 per mouth, after which he could retire on a pension of Rs. 30 a month. This simple scheme of putting one's patriotism to a practical test, of deliberately chosing a life of self-denial for the service of our fellow-men, which has given the country a most honourable band of patriotic workers who have built up and maintained the Fergusson College, and more recently the New Poona College, naturally commanded admiration And returning from the Congress at Madras, my dear friend and fellow-worker, Ganga Prasad Varma of Lucknow, himself one of the most unselfish and self-sacrificing labourers in the country's cause, and I halted at Poona to meet Tilak and his fellow-workers and to see the institutions they had started Tilak, Namjoshi, Ganga Prasad and I had many and long talks The Congress had been pressing for the last three years the demand for the introduction of the system of representative Govenment in India by a reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils. We were all of us keen in desiring that the change should be introduced as early as possible And in discussing how to bring it about, Tilak laid great stress on the importance and necessity of educating the masses to create a powerful public opinion in favour of the demand, of rousing in them a sense of national self-respect and self-reliance, of creating a hope and a confidence in them that they would be able to regain the power of governing themselves He did not wish to resort to force or violence, but he did wish that public opinion should be made so instructed and strong that the Government would be afraid to disregard it. As every one knows no one endeavoured more earnestly than Tilak to create such public opinion, and none succeeded in doing so to the extent he did, in Maharastra in particular and in the country in general.

We became good friends, and I am happy to think that though in subsequent years we differed sometimes regarding some of the methods to be adopted to achieve our end, our personal relations were never once affected by our differences. It was due partly to this circumstance that I had the good fortune more than once of being able to promote an agreement between the two parties, the extremists as they were called, at whose head stood Mr Tilak, and the moderates, among whom were Sir Pherose Shah Metha, Mr *Gokhale* and many others including myself, which came *to* be formed in the Congress after the Partition of Bengal.

The first of these occasions arose at the Congress at Benares in 1905 There was a strong difference of opinion as to whether the Congress should bless the movement of boycott of British goods which had been started in Bengal, in consequence of the Partition of Bengal. The difference was overcome and complete unanimity attained by the form in which the resolution was put at my suggestion.

The second occasion arose at the memorable Congress at Calcutta in 1906. The wrong done to Bengal by the partition and by the repressive measures which had been adopted by the Govern ment to put down the agitation against it, had roused strong feel ings against the existing system of Government not only in Bengal but throughout India. It had raised the tone of public criticism of the Government throughout the country India s Grand Old Man, who presided over the Congress at the age of 82, breathed a new life into popular agitation by declaring that " Self-Govern ment, or Swaraj like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies" was " absolutely necessary " for the welfare and progress of the people Four important resolutions were passed at that Congress which gave expression to the new ideas that had been created or strengthened in the minds of the people. These related to Self-Government, National Education boycott and Swadeshi. There were differences in the Subjects Committee regarding the latter

two. My moderate friends did me the honour of deputing me to bring about a compromise. Mr Tilak was by this time the acknowledged leader of the new party He, Lala Lajpatrai, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal and Mr Aravindo Ghose and I met and talked the matter over. And I am happy to say we were again able to agree to a form which was accepted unanimously by the Subjects Committee and by the Congress It was the addition of the words *even at a sacrifice* at the end of the resolution calling upon the people to use Swadeshi goods in preference to foreign goods which was suggested by Lala Lajpatrai which satisfied Mr. Tilak and the other friends and which I readily agreed to, that brought about the agreement among us and in the Congress

Even at this distance of time it is painful to refer to the sad episode at Surat in 1907. And I will therefore say nothing about it here None was more happy than I was when in 1915 the friends and fellow-workers who had to my great grief and to the great loss of the country, been separated, were again brought together and met at the Congress at Bombay.

We had again strong difference in the Subjects Committee of the Congress at Amritsar in 1919 as to the attitude we should adopt towards the reforms introduced by the Act of 1919 Mr Tilak and Mr C R Das took one view. Mr Gandhi and I took another But our differences were only regarding the manner in which we should express ourselves. We were agreed in substance And though it cost us some time and trouble we were able in the end to agree to a form of resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Congress

Mr. Tilak made it clear so far back as the beginning of 1907 that self-government on Colonial lines sufficed for him as a thing to work for That was his attitude when he started the Home Rule movement in 1915 and joined hands with Mrs Annie Besant for its realisation One may safely say that was his attitude to the last. The means by which he sought to bring about Self-Government on

Colonial lines was the creation of a vigorous, clamourous public opinion in India which would not be satisfied until it saw Self-Government established, and continued agitation in England to make the English people realise the wisdom and justice of helping to establish it. He also wished to carry on continuous agitation in France Germany America and Japan to obtain the moral support of educated public opinion in those countries for our cause. His visit to England had impressed upon him the urgency and importance of foreign political propaganda. This occuped his thoughts largely during the last days of his existence.

I had the pleasure and privilege of meeting Lokmanya Tilak at his home at Poona on the day he left it for Bombay never to return to it again, and during the long talk we then had the thing he pressed upon me most was to organise deputations to England, France America, Germany and Japan, and to raise sufficient funds to maintain them there for at least five years. I never thought that he whould be taken away from our midst within a fortnight.

There are many other reminiscences which are crowding upon my mind. But a feeling of pain is overpowering me I must stop.

Up to the time of his death, there was no man in the whole of our great country who loved his people, who served his people and who suffered for his people more than the man whom they have in their love and reverence honoured with the high name of Lokamanya. Long may his subtle intelligence, his high scholarship his spotless character his splendid public spirit, his unbending independence and his dauntless spirit continue to inspire the youth of India to dedicate themselves to the service of the motherland which the Lokamanya so dearly loved and lived for

The Honourable Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan,

(K. B. K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E. Maharaja of Mahmudabad (Oudh.)

I had the great pleasure of meeting Lokamanya Tilak for the first time in 1916 during the sessions of the Indian National Congress held at Lucknow He had been a true nationalist and through his help and support the memorable Hindu–Muslim pact became a settled fact He admitted to me that there had been certain defects in the pact which he said he would not mind because in his opinion the settlement on the whole was an important achievment. He was an honest believer in the unity of all Communities in India as a basis for the attainment of Swaraj. He was a very large hearted and liberal minded politician. When I met him again in Bombay he discussed the question of seperate representation at length His strong belief had been that the seperate rspresentation will be injurious to the Muslim Community as well as to other Communities in India. He was also strongly opposed to the Dyarchy. He, therefore, did not welcome the Montford Reforms as they stand. He thought that well organised efforts outside Councils to expose the constitution will be more effective and useful. But on many questions affecting the fundamental principles he thought that even the policy of obstruction in the Councils will be justified if that could be unanimously carried out by the representatives of the people for the reason that a protest on such subjects from the chosen representatives of the people will carry greater weight.

His Highness The Maharaja Sir Sayajirao Gaikwar.

(G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., Maharaja of Baroda.)

[I had the good luck of getting an interview with His Highness Shrimant Sir Sayajirao Gaikwar, Maharaja of Baroda, in His

Highness es Laxmi-Vilas Palace-Rajmahal at Baroda. At that time after some conversation about topics of general interest, I made a request to His Highness to favour me with some of his reminiscences about Lokmanya Tilak, as His Highness had occasionally come in contact with him. At that time I humbly put some questions to His Highness regarding the subject which were answered by His Highness. Subsequently the whole matter was reduced to writing in the form of questions and answers by the state-officers and after it had been approved by His Highness the Maharaja, it was delivered to me on 31st January 1928 through his private secretary Rao Bahadur G B. Ambegaonkar B. A. LL. B. The original given to me was in Marathi the following is a literal translation of the same. —Editor]

Question	*Answer*
1. Would Your Highness do me the favour of giving me some special of Your Highness es reminiscences about the late Lok. Tilak if they can be given ?	It is very difficult for me to give my reminiscences about him. Because I came in touch with him on very few occasions.
2 What did Your Highness feel on such occasions of Your Highnesse s meeting with him about the qualities which Lok. Tilak possessed.	It is needless to say that on such occasions I was especially impressed with his intelligence and learning
3. Has Your Highness any reminiscences about the episode of the Bapat-Commission which brought so much fame to Lok. Tilak ?	I know nothing about it. At that time I was in England.
4. Is it a fact that Your Highness had, during his stay in	Yes He had seen me in 1894 1895 At that time he was a

Poona, about the year 1894–1895 made some suggestions to Lok Tilak about writing some books

member of the 'Legislative Council '. I asked him why he was not writing books I suggested him at least to transtate some great Sanskrit or English books. He told me that as he had taken to Politics he was not finding much time for such work. He, however, promised to act up to my suggestions. On my expressing to him my desire that he should collect information about आर्यनीति-मीमासा (problems of Indian Ethics) he said that he had already collected and was even then collecting materials about it and was thinking of writing a treatise on the subject. I therefore expressed my appreciation about his ability to undertake such a work.

5. It is rumoured that Your Highness presented to Lok Tilak, as a gift, Your Highness'es Gaikwar-Wada situate in the Narayan Peth at Poona. I know that the rumour is false. Yet I wish to have some direct information about it from Your Highness.

The rumour is absolutely false I had a mind to dispose it off. I had therefore in the first instance fixed its price after due and proper inquiry and had then publicly advertised for offers Tilak offered about 15000 rupees and I sold the wada to him.

6 What does Your Highness think about Lok. Tilak's work in life ?	There is no doubt that the treatise गीतारहस्य' written by Tilak is fine. Yet I am unable to agree with his thoughts about caste distinction expressed in it. I do not think that in this matter he had kept a progressive policy National advancement includes social progress. It is impossible to secure national progress unless we raise our ethics in respect of our home and society to a very high order by placing it on pure foundations excluding all distinction and if perhaps it is achieved it will not be lasting For instance the Mahratta Empire

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His Highness the Maharaja Sir Shri Rama Vurmah

(G C S I G C I E., Ex Maharaja of Cochin Trichur)

My acquaintance with Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was only short and I am therefore not in a position to say much of him. The only occasion on which I met him was when I went to Poona to preside at the Ayurvedic Conference. Even then, the opportunities I had to talk with him were few When I alighted, from the train he was, among others, introduced to me But I did not particularly notice him then and made inquiries after him. He was then specially introduced to me and I apologised for

my omission and he excused me by a few kind and polite words. His popularity specially struck me. Whenever he appeared in public, he attracted the attention of every one as if by a special magnetic power. He was good enough to call on me one day and spent an hour with me. I do not now distinctly remember the details of the conversation. This much I remember. He was a good Sanskrit scholar with alround information, very amiable and courteous The conversation was confined mostly to literary subjects Our views agreed on most points. I also attended an "AT HOME" given by him. In the course of conversation, I had occasion to refer to his imprisonment thus " शुक पन्जरबन्धस्ते मधुराणां गिरां फलम् " (O Parrot! your imprisonment is due to your sweet words) In one case, sweet to the possessor, and in the other, to the public at large. He seemed to appreciate my quotation. I greatly enjoyed the interesting conversation I had with him on the two occasions.

His Highness The Hon'ble Sir Rameshwar Singh.

(G. C. I. E., K. B. E., L. L. D., Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of DARBHANGA, Behar)

I never had any occasion to associate with the late Lokamanya Tilak directly and so there is very little which I can contribute towards the matter.

It is indeed a pity I cannot quite distinctly recollect the talk I had with the late Mr. Tilak of revered memory. I, how-ever, remember this much that it was only on one occasion in 1918 that Mr. Motilal Ghose, the Hon. Mr. Khaparde and Mrs. Beasant paid me visit in 'Darbhanga House' in Calcutta and we had long conversation lasting for about a couple of hours on various subjects especially on religious and political questions. Mr. Tilak and Mrs.

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Beasant saw me on another occasion at Delhi. But I am unable to recall to mind as to what topic or topics were particularly discussed. The only thing that I can recollect is that there was some discussion about which there was some difference of opinion and Tilak asked my opinion. We discussed the question for about an hour and a half but I am sorry to write that now I have entirely forgotten it.

However I was then greatly impressed by the simplicity of his manners and his deep patriotic fervour and sincere regard for his religion and his country The earnest solicitude which he uni formally displayed in fighting for the cause of India and the enormous sacrifices that he made in that behalf will be gratefully remembered by every true son of India. Every one who has read his books will pay a tribute to his versatile genius and deep erudit ion and his scholarly productions will always be counted as valu able contributions not only to Indian literature but to the literature of the world. There was no public man for whom I had more respect and veneration. I wish Mr Bapat every success in his noble undertaking of publishing the Reminiscences about Lok. Tilak.

Babu Subhas Chandra Bose

(President Sixth M P Conference held at Poona Calcutta.)

LOKAMANYA S GREATNESS.

I knew that Lokamanya Tilak was one of the greatest men produced by India in recent times. I had often tried to contemplate the loftiness of his character and to comprehend the versatility of his intellect. I had often pondered over the mystery of his rich and wonderful personality but I confess that not till I was thrust inside the stone-walls of Mandalay-Jail did the magnitude of his greatness reveal itself to me. I had the privilege of living for two years under the shadow of that wooden cage-it was not a masonic building-where Lokamanya Tilak lived in complete isolation

for nearly six years. And until one has lived in Mandalay Jail for some time it is not possible to realise the soul-killing atmosphere and the inhuman conditions to which Lokamanya had been subjected during his incarceration. Words fail to express the greatness of one who could come out of this ordeal triumphant, whose soul could break through the parched stones of Mandalay Jail and blossom forth in richness and grandeur. Lokamanya alone could rise above such dismal surroundings and convert the dark and dreary hours into one long *tapasya*, the consummation of which manifested itself in his sublime creation " Gita-Rahasyam. "

—*Extract from his presidential address.*

Virumal Begraj

(Editor " The Sindhi ", Sukkur-Sind.)

When I think of the great soul so mighty ; " the power of electricity comes within and echo without " Lok. Tilak is living." India so poor without him to day ! Robust leader is needed to lead us on in this hour of disappointment. It was on the 16th of June that great leaders met at Calcutta to keep alive the day of Desh Bandhu Das while the anniversary of Lok Tilak falls this year on the 1st of August and the third and the last volume of his reminiscences will be out on that sacred day.

I am humble servant at his feet and called upon from such a long distance to send my contribution. I thank fully Mr. Bapat and do so accordingly. His recollections are living eternally before me. His robust faith in the sure awakening of the national spirit in India was so contageous that we in the moffussal, though surrounded by disheartening circumstances became as hopeful and came out spirited as he himself was. This confidence was seen in him all throughout from the distant days of public apathy to National cause and to the trying hour of Government repression and even during the darkest days of rank division in the country itself.

His temperament was always progressive As the National spirit grew greater in the country, greater became the ideal to be achieved. He never put a limit to the aspirations of his countrymen and the result of this was that all the young men and women with youthful spirit felt always inspired in his company and felt impelled to exert their utmost for national welfare I think it was this ever present fresh outlook that collected round him the band of real workers. Whatever the phase of national movement Lok. Tilak always had some sincere servants of the country at his call.

But the secret of the success of his mission was his unreserved dedication to his country's cause which because of his profession of life as well as religion of soul coupled with his complete identification with his fellow workers in the field whose personal family difficulties became his own difficulties and his high moral character which was a standing inspiration to us all whenever our minds were disturbed.

I wrote to Mr Bapat in my first letter the pleasant recollections how I met Tilak in his house while he was sitting on a mat bear-footed and bear headed reading some scriptures. He greeted me and I kissed his feet. He embraced me; my eyes were full of water through ecstasy As we met after ten years it was in the end of 1914. I announced my name to him. He had returned from Mandalay after six years exile and I had returned after three years' transportation. He embraced me; I could not speak for a few minutes. Then we exchanged thoughts and I gave him some news of the desert of Sindh so-called by Pheroz Shah Mehta. We discussed on several topics of the day but the fate of India in those days was so sad. I took some sweets at his house and then he stretched his hands with flowers and said "Virumal! It is a very costly thing for a worker in the national cause. No one had a right to accept a garland of flowers from the people and the public unless he was prepared to give a cup of his sweet blood for each flower in the garland." I have never forgotten these words of

wisdom uttered by the greatest hero Lok. Tilak. I bow down to him, to his memory, to his ashes and the holy place that gave him birth. India to-day stands in need of that spirit of the Selfless and Courageous worker. Alas! Fate is not to-day what it should be after the labourious and hard and trying time and precious lives of Desh Bandhu Das, Lok. Tilak and several other loyal souls 'May his soul rest in peace' is my humble prayer from Sindh and may he lead us on.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

(M. L. A., Editor 'The People', Lahore.)

After December 1905 I met Mr Tilak only in December 1906 at the Calcutta Congress which was presided over by Mr. Dadabhoi Naoroji. The session of the Congress was a momentus one. For the first time in the history of the Congress a demand for Swaraj was made. And openly and squarely, Swaraj was fixed to be the goal of Indian Nationalism for all times to come. Besides this, the activities and influence of Lokamanya induced the Congress to pass three other resolutions of great importance viz. those relating to National Education, Swadeshi and Boycott. Myself and the Bengal Nationalists of Arabindo School fully co-operated with the Lokamanya.

The 'Extrimist' had a special propaganda pendal where Lokamanya often spoke and gave lectures on various questions of the day.

In 1907 we again met at Surat. The Extrimists had set up a separate camp where the Lokamanya and his Co-workers lived and laboured. A graphic account of the happenings of Surat have been given by Mr. H. W. Nevinson in his book 'The new Spirit in India.'

In 1908 at the request of Lokmanya I made several attempts to bridge up the gulf that had been created between his party and moderates by the events of Surat but without any success.

In September that year I proceeded to England and did not again meet Lokmanya till 1920 When I returned from the U S.A. he was the first to welcome me. At a monster meeting held in Bombay he read a splendid address of welcome to me on behalf of the Home Rule League and also arranged a dinner in my honor at the Sardargraha. In 1920 we met several times at Delhi to discuss the political situation and settle the programme of work. Both of us were present at Benares where in a meeting of the A. I. C. C. it was decided to call a special session of the Congress to decide the question of non Co-operation. I was on my way to see him in his fatal illness when on reaching the Victoria Terminus I learnt that the great soul has departed ! It was a great shock and the sense of loss was the greatest imaginable

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Lokmanya's Private Letters

[During the period of his incarceration at Mandalay Lok. Tilak was granted permission to write to his home only one letter once a month. Nearly three scores and ten letters of him have already been published in his second part of the Life of Tilak by Mr N C. Kelkar However I take this opportunity to reproduce below one letter, characteristic of its own, addressed to his nephew (Dhondopant) written after the sad demise of his (Lok'a.) wife.

Similarly I give below some letters, which have never appeared through press before written by him to his intimate friend The Hon. Mr G S. alias Dadasaheb Khaparde.

—EDITOR.]

Central Jail Mandalay.
8th June, 1912.

My dear Dhondu,

Your wire was a very great and a heavy blow. I am used to take my misfortunes calmly; but I confess that the present shook me considerably. According to the beliefs ingrained in us it is not undesirable that the wife should die before her husband. What grieved me most is my enforced absence from her side at this critical time. But this was to be, I always feared it, and it has at last happened. But I am not going to trouble you further with my sad thoughts. One chapter of my life is closed and I am afraid it won't be long before another will be.

Let her last rites be duly performed and her remains sent to Allahabad or Benaras or any other place she might have desired. Carry out literally all her last wishes, if you have not done so already. The task of looking after the physical and intellectual development of my sons falls on you now with greater responsibility; and I shall be still further grieved if I were to find it not properly attended to. I believe Mathu and Durgi are still there. They as well as Rambhau must have keenly felt the berevement especially at a time when I am away. Console them in my name and see that Rambhau and Bapu do not get dejected. Let them remember that I was left an orphan when I was much younger than either of them. Misfortunes should brace us up for greater self-dependence. Both Rambhau and Bapu should therefore take a lesson from this berevement and if they do that I am sure God will not forsake them See that their time is not lost in useless grief. The inevitable must be faced boldly.

As regards her things and valuables make a list thereof, and keep them with you under lock and key till my release or till you next hear to the contrary from me, in the meanwhile. Above all face the situation courageously yourself, for there is no one else on whom the children can depend in this critical state. May God help

you all is all that I can wish and pray for from this distant place With love to children and yourself.

I am yours affectionately
Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

Central Jail, Mandalay
Upper Burma
7th November 1908

My dear Khaparde,

You must have got my last letter by the time this reaches you I have not heard anything from you, nor from Mr Raghavayya or Dhondu since I left Bombay Dhondu is however expected here on or about the 18th Inst. when I may learn more about the progress of the appeal. In the mean time I wish to communicate to you some more facts, which I wanted to be communicated to you, but I don't know if they have been communicated.

First I wish you to refer to O' Connel s case decided, I believe in 1843 or may be 1844, but not later O' Connel was convicted of SEDITION in England. There was some defect in the selection of the number of Jury and what is more important to us, also a number of counts or charges improperly joined. An appeal was made on those grounds to the House of Lords and the latter reversed the sentence passed on O Connel and acquitted him. I have read the case in an Irish History book, but you can find a full report of the same in the House of Lords cases there and see if it suits our purpose You can certainly find many other English cases of misjoindere there; but the above one being of sedition may be of some use. The Jury point in many cases is also worth placing before the Privy Council.

Another thing which I wish to draw your attention to, is the definition of "attempt in law If you refer to the French Penal Code (of which you can have a copy there) you will find "attempt" defined in the same way as I maintained in my defence and Jenkins

Lok Tilak

Mrs Satyabhamabai Tilak.

C. J. has defined it in the Bombay case I referred to. The Penal Code of France says that" "attempt" to be legally complete must be such as was frustrated by something beyond the control of the person attempting. It is only such an "attempt" that is punishable by the French Code. The English is the same. So the definition of attempt given by me was, so to say, international.

Of course all arrangements will be of use if special leave for filing the appeal is granted. You must have lodged the application by this sime. Let me know what you have done and when the hearing may come off, as well as what the counsel think of thes chances of success. You can write a letter to me here to the address of the Supdt, Central Jail, Mandalay, Upper Burma. The letter should contain nothing but the news about the appeal only. It should be a business letter and nothing more.

I must be, and am prepared for the worst, but I know that you will not return without doing your best for me there. The last resource is a petition to the House of Commons, about which I have already written to you in my directions forwarded to you from Ahmedabad.

I am not allowed any newspapers here. (I have now formally applied for permission but have not got a reply yet) So I do not know what is going on outside, even about myself. So please write to me a detailed letter about your and Mr. Karandikar's work. The result of the appeal you can communicate by wire to "Supdt. Mandalay."

The climate of this place is somewhat like Poona, but hotter. Otherwise I am doing well I hope Mr. Karandikar and yourself do not find it too cold there. Wishing you success and expecting an early reply and with best compliments to Mr. Karandikar.

I remain yours
very sincerely
Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

Central Jail, Mandalay
Upper Burma
18th February 1909

My dear Dadasaheb

I was glad to receive your long-expected telegram, "filed," direct from London. They also telegraphed the same news to me from Poona. Your telegram was received here on the 11th inst. and the Poona tele. on the 12th inst. i.e yesterday Of course the filing means nothing judicially; but it shows that we have put the machinary into motion, and so I was anxious to learn the news. I think there will be no difficulty about "admission," the second stage, and that the final hearing will come, say after the Easter Holidays, if not earlier I want you to telegraph to me DIRECT the result both of ADMISSION and the FINAL HEARING My telegraphic address should be simply, Tilak, Jail, Mandalay; you need not put "Central" before "jail" as there is no other jail here. That will save you a word, which costs something like Rs. 3 per word; The address will thus comprise of three words only

The admission may or may not be opposed by Govt. So I propose the following cable words for you to telegraph the result.

Admitted – admitted, Govt. NOT opposing

Admitted Withal – admitted in spite of the Govt. opposition.

Rejected – not admitted in either case.

I have kept a note of these words and you can wire accordingly

As to the final result if it is favourable I need not say that the number of words is not the question in telegraphing the result. If otherwise you may simply telegraph "Dismissed.

If at the time of admission the date of final hearing be settled you may telegraph the date by two additional words, e. g tenth or

any other April (or March)" whatever the date may be. By these two words I shall understand it to be the date of final hearing.

I have not communicated these code words to my solicitors or Dhondu So in telegraphing to them you may use your own words at descretion, so as to make the telegram intelligible to them. It is not necessary to wire to them whether Govt. opposes the admission or not, as they get your letter within a fortnight, while it reaches me after three weeks.

Please also keep me informed about details each time by a letter addressed to the care of the Supdt., who has been kind enough to pass your letters to me. But the letters should be strictly business letters, as they have hitherto been.

Mr. Karandikar has returned. He appears to think that there will be some difficulty in pursuading the Privy Council to quash the sentence on the ground of "Prejudice", especially as the High Court has taken that view. The apprehension is not unfounded especially in a case like mine. But as stated in my previous letter to you we have to make the best use of the fact that had the trial been made separately there was good chance of acquittal on one, if not both, the charges; and that an appeal Court cannot anticipate what the result would have been if seperate trials had been disallowed. If I am right, that was the argument in O'Connel's case and it succeeded with the House of Lords In fact you will have to urge that I have been distinctly prejudiced by the amalgamation of the cases; and it was the SOLE object of the Prosecution in getting the cases or charges amalgamated But I need not write you further on this point. The least that I expect is "new trial."

However you must keep ready the "second string" to your bow I mean "petition to Parliament," [if the result of the Privy Council appeal be unfavourable. Have you seen Agamiya Guru? He is somewhat eccentric, but may be of some use to us, as he has influential disciples in England.

I am doing well. The cold season here will be over by the end of this month, and then it will be hot say for the next 8 or 9 months, as the rains here are scanty

I hope you have not suffered from winter cold there and that your health is good. Wishing you success and speedy return,

I remain
Yours very sincerely
Bal Gangadhar Tilak

To

Ganesh Shrikrishna Khaparde Esq, B.A.LL.B.
7 Philbeach Gardens, S.W
London.

Central Jail, Mandalay,
Upper Burma.
5th March 1909

My dear Dadasaheb

I have duly received your letters dated 5th February (enclosing a typewritten copy of the application) and 10th February written after "lodging" the application for leave to appeal. I have also got your telegram dated 3rd Inst. containing one word "rejected" meaning of course that the Privy Council has declined to grant leave to appeal. The judicial door is thus finally closed against me. The returning of the brief by Sir Rufus Isaacs, after keeping it for two months nearly and after consultation with you all, was itself ominous; and Lord Chancellor himself might have as stated by you in your letter to Mr Raghavyya (who being in Burma on tour saw me here a fortnight ago) sat to hear the application. You know perhaps that last time when I appealed to the Privy Council (in 1897) Mr Asquith, the present Premier was my counsel and the

London Times took him to task for accepting the brief, though Privy Council even then decided against me. Sir Rufus Isacs might perhaps have been actuated by some such apprehensions or he may have personally known or guessed the temper or inclination of the court. But it is, as you say, useless to speculate on the point. Anyhow the judicial remedies are exhausted, and you may now try the other one suggested in my previous letters and which you have had in view ever since you left Bombay. But I think you cannot expect any immediate result from it, not at least till the repressive policy is given up by the Government. I should not therefore advise you to stay in England more than about two months more. You may put the matter in the hands of friends and sympathisers, settle the course to be followed, provide them with such funds as may be necessary, and leaving Mr. Dalgado or Mr. Parikh in charge of the matter, return to India as early as you can-say by the end of April or May next You may have done all that a friend can do for me, and you may now leave me to my fate and Providence. Six years is a long time, and many events may happen in the meanwhile, which may, who knows, favour us. But it is no use staying in England for the purpose. You have made friends there and you can correspond with them whenever necessary from here; or if any unexpected chance or occasion arise requiring your presence, go to England again. You have been out of India for nearly 7 months at a great sacrifice, and I cannot ask you to be away any longer the more so as I do not think, it will be of any use. There are many things to be done here, which require your advice and guidance very urgently. Please convey my best thanks to Mr. Parikh and Mr. Dalgado for the trouble they have taken in the case And after settling the course to be followed and leaving in the hands of friends either in the British Congress Committee or outside, return to India as early as you can.

I shall like to see you personally, here in Mandalay, with my nephew Dhondu, after you return home, as I wish to settle in consultation with you certain matters regarding the Trust Estate and

also some domestic affairs. Dhondu will tell you the procedure to be followed in obtaining an interview with me. I am allowed one interview in three months and you will have to inquire of the Superintendent whether an interview is due and so allowable On receipt of his reply you may come here. Otherewise there is a chance of your visit to this place turning out to be in effectual.

When I learn more details as to what you are doing further I may write you again from here I am doing well so far but cannot say how the hot season which has commenced and will last for 8 months more may affect my health. Sincerely and warmly thanking you for the trouble you have taken and wishing you speedy return.

I remain
Yours Very sincerely
Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

Central Jail, Mandalay
Upper Burma.
1st May, 1909

My dear Dadasaheb

I am in receipt of your kind letter dated 1st April 1909 I am glad to see that you take nearly the same view as myself about the situation there. As you are not in a hurry to return, I do not want you to come back prematurely All that I wished to say was that as no immediate result is now expected you need not stay any longer in England than necessary to secure the proper continuation of the work designed. You know what was done for me in the last case I mean 1897-98. Something of the kind is still possible I do not think a motion in the Parliament can do us any good, especially as it is now 9 months since I was convicted. A petition to the House will only serve as a basis for questions; but as you state a petition to the King (that is the

Secretary of State for India) or the Prime Minister will be of greater use. Last time Prof. Maxmuller and Sir W. Hunter moved in the matter. Both are now dead; but you may get other equally good names. It is no longer a question of Law and Justice; but of time and expediency or what they call policy; and we cannot expect any immediate result. But we must keep on working or else everything will be forgotten and allowed to go unheeded even when a favourable opportunity occurs. This is what you have to look to, and I hope with the assistance of some M Ps you will be able to do something in the matter. Please convey my regards to Mr. Keir Hardie, who spent two days with me in Poona, when he was in India and who, I hope, will give all assistance, and may even be entrusted with the work to be done in future.

I think before returning you should if possible pay a visit to New York, Páris and Berlin. A trip to New York will take you 3 weeks After initiating the petition business, you can go away for a time and return to see how it is carried on in your absence. My son-in-law would indeed be very glad to meet you. In fact I promised him that I would see him in Berlin. But if I cannot do so now, your visit to him will be as good as mine. See that he is doing well and give him such advice as you deem necessary. Young men going to foreign countries are likely sometimes to go wrong and your visit may be useful in that way to him. His address is "9 Bismark Street, Charlottemburg, Germany." Charlottenburg is near Berlin, a suburban town. Sane lives in Charlottemburg and attends the lectures in Berlin.

I do not want to enter into a controversy with you about your sacrifice etc. You say you have retired from practice, but I do not think practice has retired from you. Again your staying away from India for so many months, for me, is something like a voluntary deportation! But I do not wish to dwell longer on the topic.

Will not the British Congress Committee help you? You speak of the Indian Parliamentary Committee in your letter That is as good as the former, but still you can try both.

You can have an interview with me by the end of June or the beginning of July not before. Please let me have previous intimation of your coming here so that I may keep ready I am in good health till now, and hope you too are doing well there.

Yours very sincerely
Bal Gangadhar Tilak

Central Jail, Mandalay
Upper Burma 29th May 1909

My dear Dadasahib

I received your kind letter dated 6th inst. on 28th Inst. i.e. yesterday I have already written to you on the 1st inst. And that letter will be in your hands before this reaches you. The question viz. whether, I would accept any conditions and if so what, is indeed an awkward one. But as you want me to answer it, I shall do so rather reluctantly, as I think it should be better answered by my friends.

If you refer to my previous letters, you will find that I have been of opinion that efforts for my relief should be made on three grounds-(1) Legal (2) Equitable (3) Humanitarian. And that if all these prove useless we should NOT go beyond them.

(1) You have tried the first. We all thought that the i le-galities in the case would induce the Privy Council to order a new trial at least. But there we have failed; and the leagal door is now finally closed forever against us.

(2) The second ground is that of Equity I ought to have been tried by an Indian Jury; although the existing law does give me that right. I think the Civil Rights Committee can ' '

up my case on this ground. Every European British Subject in India can claim a European Jury. But an Indian though he can claim an Indian Jury in a court of Sessions, cannot claim it in a High Court! And even in a Court of Session he cannot claim it in trials for offences against the State This is the strange anomaly of Law and Civil Rights Committee ought to take up the question. If their efforts do not help me I am sure that the general cause will gain in the end I still believe that if I had an Indian Jury, I should have been acquitted If you refer to the opinions published at the end of the Report of my trial you will find that even some English papers, e g the "Star" have expressed the same view. Trial by a jury selected out of one's own countrymen or peers is an important constitutional right, especially in trials for offences against the State; as important as the right of HABEAUS CORPUS, and the Civil Rights Committe is the proper body to take up and fight for the question in Parliament. You have therefore done well in approaching the President of this Committee,rather than the Indian Parliamentary Committee which, as you say, is almost effete You know that Mr. Baptista opposed the motion for Special Jury on my behalf, but the judge ruled against me even on that point This is what I call equitable ground; because though the letter of the Law is not violated, the law itself is inequitable as the act of 1818 or 1827.

(3) The third ground is the severity of the sentence or what I call the humanitarian ground. All things apart-legal or equitable-six years for what at least is a dubious article-when not a single immoral act, other than the writing was proved or alleged,-is a savage sentence. I do not think such a punishment could ever have been awarded in England at present. It is true that the Govt. has kindly toned down the severity of the sentence by commuting the punishment into one of simple imprisonment But still taking into consideration the actual nature of the offence and my age,

position in the society I believe that anybody will still consider the punishment to be a harsh one though Mr Justice Davar characterised it as lenient It is on this ground that an appeal for mercy can be made by those who think the punishment to be too severe for a man of my age and position, social or literary, and for the offence of merely publishing certain honest views. The memorialists need not trouble themselves with the question whether the Govt. would impose or whether in that case I would accept or not any conditions. That is the question between the Govt. and myself. The memorialists will have done their part when they present a memorial of the kind stated above Like the one presented by the late Prof. Max Muller and Sir W Hunter it will be a short memorial, and if you get some influencial men to sign it, it is bound to have some effect, sooner or later

And now *I shall tell you my mind about the acceptance* of any conditions. If the conditions are the same as those offered to me in 1898 (vide page 14 of the printed proceedings of my trial) I would not hesitate to accept them. I do not care for demonstrations and such other honours. I would gladly forego them. *But once out of jail I must have the same liberty of action as every citizen enjoys* under the law of the land. That was secured to me by the conditions of 1898, and I accepted them in consequence But I do not think the same conditions would be offered now They will, if offered at all, be harsher now; and *I do not see how I can accept them* I have now nearly completed one year of my punishment, and after five years more I shall be at any rate hope to be amongst you as FREE CITIZEN Do you think I should surrender this chance, distant as it is, by voluntarily incapacitating me (by the acceptance of the conditions) for any public or political work forever? I am now aleady 53 years that is I shall have completed my 53rd year in July next. If heridity and average of health be any indication of the longivity of a man *I do not hope to live at best for more than 10 years more* Of these 5 say

available for unrestrained public work which, if I accept any conditions of the kind you mention, I shall have to *live as a dead man*, practically amongst you hereafter. To say the least I do not like that kind of life. It is true that my activity is not confined to politics ; and I can do some literary work even if I be prohibited from taking part in politics I have considered this view fully, and have come to the conclusion that it is inconsistant with all my anticedents *In fact I shall be undoing my life's work thereby.* You know that I have never lived exclusively for my family or for myself alone, but have always endeavoured to do my duty to the public Now judge what would be the moral effect of my effacing myself from public life, for the sake of few year's personal comfort ? Of the family matters the most important is the superintendance of the education of my sons but I think I can leave that to friends like yourselves during my imprisonment. I lost my parents (both) at fifteen and my sons wont be worse in this respect than myself. From these remarks you might think that I may accept a condition imposing restriction on my public activity for a short time say six months or a year after my release. But I shall rather like to be in the jail for that period than be out a disabled man The sum-total of the above remarks is *that I would like to be a free citizen as soon as released.* Govt have already secured power to keep me out of public work for five years more and it will be *quid pro quo* and not mercy, if by releasing me now they secure my permanent abstention from public activity.

Well, my dear Dadasahib, as a theosophist you have full faith in the occult ways of providence and you cannot refuse to believe with me that several things may occur during the next five years, which may secure my early release , *if not, I am prepared for the worst* So all that I should wish you to do is, to exhaust the three methods or the means for securing my release as stated in the opening part of this letter If the release cannot be secured by any of these means the matter must be dropped *I do not wish for*

release AT ANY COST and would pray you not to allow your friendly feeling for me to carry the matter further

It will take you only a month or two more and then you may return to India whatever the result of your work may be One can but do his best, says a proverb; and when you have done your best you will have discharged your duty to a friend. *It is for you to work and for Providence to bless your work with success* so says the Gita; and I cannot conclude this letter with a more opportune remark or advice Several good men have suffered for the expression of their honest views in the past, and if it be destined that I should do the same who can prevent it?

I know that no immediate results can be expected from any work on the lines indicated above so I requested you to initiate the work and return to India entrusting the rest to men like Mr Keir Hardie or Mr Parikh. I still think it is possible to do so. If not, stay in England as long as it may be necessary to exhaust the 2nd and the 3rd method stated above and return. I hope you will not have to stay away from your home for more than a few months

Mandalay is usually very hot as hot as Nagpur But this year luckily we had Summer rains in April as well as in this month of May and consequently the heat was not unbearable except for a few days. I am therefore doing well, as well as one can do in a jail. They have allowed all the books I wanted and I spend my time in reading with a view that I shall be able to write out the books which, you know I have designed out long ago.

I forgot to mention above that while working on the lines mentioned above the *matter may be kept alive by questions* in Parliament as suggested by you in one of our letters. If the question is kept up persistently before *the eyes of Govt and the public* in this way it is bound to produce some result sooner or later beneficial to the general cause if not to myself personally

Please treat this letter as PRIVATE. With kind regards to your good self and expecting to meet shortly.

I remain
Yours very sincerely,
Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

P. S By the by can you procure by purchase and not as a loan for me 4 vols, of Cante's Positive Polity, (not philosophy) translated into English by Dr. Bridges and others and published by Messrs. Longmans and Co. in 1875–78 ? The edition, I learned from Mess Ramchandra Govind of Bombay is now out of print. Only the first volume is reprinted as a cheap edition and I have got it here with me. But I want ALL the four vols., and you can get them second-hand at some second-hand shop of book-sellers in London If you consult Mr. Swinny a follower of Cante, the editor of the Positivist–Review, who knows me, he will help you in procuring four volumes second hand. In case you get the volumes send them by book-post to the care of the Supdt Jail (central) Mandalay. I should like to have them here and also in my library Give my regards to Mr. Swinny If you see him and also to Mr. Keir Hardie.

To

Ganesh Shrikrishna Khaparde Esq B A. LL. B.
R 4 Philbeach Gardens. S W.
London

Central Jail, Mandalay
29th December 09.

My dear Dadasaheb,

I have not much to communicate to you this time except what I have written to Mr. Dalgado–which letters you must have seen.

The Bombay Govt. has returned the petetion submitted through them and addressed to the Secretary of State for India. Of course you will consult the counsel there and do what you may be advised. I have written fully on that subject to Mr Dalgado

But what I want I to impress on you is the necessity of finishing the business soon. I know that inevitable delays are caused, for example the return of the petetion by the Bombay Govt. But whatever the causes we cannot see the matter delayed ad *infinitum* So try to cut short as soon as possible and do not undertake any more schemes. Friends here are anxious to see you back; and it is a question of funds besides. Have you found a peer willing to help us? If so when the petetion the House of Lords is disposed of you should, I think, return to India. If the Secretary of State for India will not do anything now that is on the petetion now presented, there is no hope of his doing anything afterwards.

You may send your letters to me addressed here but my reply to you can be sent only through Poona, that is as part of my monthly home letter

Hoping this finds you in good health and expecting to meet you shortly

I am
Yours very sincerely
Bal Gangadhar Tilak

P S.

I hope Mr D A. Khare has seen you and realised your difficulties Has he suggested anything new? If so please let me know in your next.

Tilak's Study In Jail.

Stone-walls-do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage !

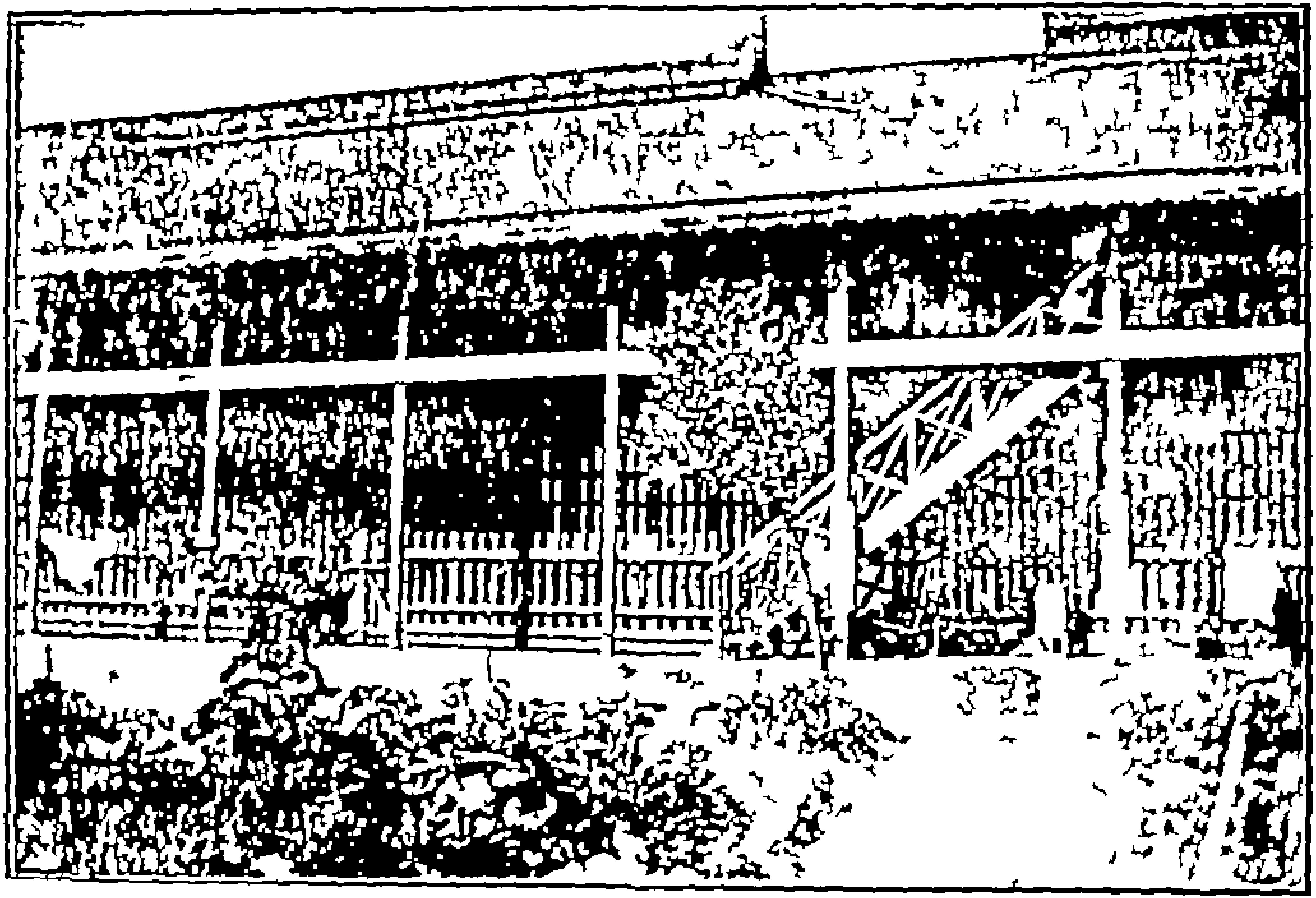
When Lokamanya Tilak returned to his Mother-country after his six years' incarceration at Mandalay he carried with him nearly four hundred books, mostly on Gita and Hindu religious Philosophy. These books were packed in two crates and a list of them was made by Lok Tilak himself and signed by the jailor with the remark "Packed in my presence" We print the list below for the information of the readers It shows Lokamanya's vast reading and the amount of trouble he took in preparing his *Magmun Opus* the Gita-Rahasya. The list will be useful to the students of Gita and the Gita-Rahasya. It will also be helpful to those who wish to furnish public or private libraries with literature about the Gita and Hindu Philosophy and Ethics. Editor.

LIST OF BOKS

Packed up in Crate No. 1.

Nos 1—4 Rigveda Samhita, 4 Volumes, edited by Prof. Max-Muller 5-15 Anandashram Series (II volumes) Ishavasya Upanishad, Kenopanishad,Kathopanishad,Prasnopanishad, Tiattiriya Upanishad, Chhandogya Upanishad, Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, Shvetashvatara Up, Brahma-Sutra Pt I, Brahma-Sutra Pt. II, Thirtytwo Up 17-20 Anandashram Series (continued)—4 volumes. Brahma Sutra Pt I (Second copy,) Brahma-Sutra Pt, II (Second copy), Thirty-two Up -(Second copy), Bhagwatgita —21 Bhagwatgita by Brooks, 22 Sankhya-Karika, 23 Sankhya-Sutra Vritti, 24 Dnyaneshwari, 25 Ramdas and Ramdasi 26 Shri Tukaram 27 Bharatiya Yuddha (Marathi), 28 Ramakathamrita Pt I (Marathi), 29 Ramakathamrita Pt II (Marathi), 30-36 Maha-Bharata in 7 Volumes (in San) 37 Manava-Dharmashastra, 38-39 Rigveda Samhita (text) Vol. I and II, 40 Rigveda

Suktas Trans by MaxMuller, 41 Rigveda Worterluch (German) by Grassman. 42 Sanskrit English Dictionary—Apte s, 43–47 Sacred books of the East Series (3 Vols.) Vol. I Upanishad Pt. I Vol. XV Upanishad Pt II Vol. VIII The Bhagawat-Gita, 48 Arctic Home in the Vedas 50 Vedische Mythology–Macdonnel, 51 Ancient Hindu Astronomy and Chronology (Max Muller), 52–54 Vedishe Mythology-by Aillebundry in three volumes (German), 55 Allgemum Geshikte der Philosophie—Upanishads–Paul Deussen (German) 56 Religion and Philosophy of India by Paul Deussen, 57 Twenty eight Upanishads (in San.) 58 Gita with Shridhar's Com. (in San.) 59 Gita with Ramanuja–Bhashya, 60 Concepts of Monism by Worsley 61 Haekel s Monism false 62 Sketch of Vedanta Philosophy by Trivedi 63 Gospel of life by Brooks Vol. I 64 Riks, 65 Kants Critique of Pure Reason, 66 Kants Theory of Ethics, 67 Pessimism by James Sully 68 Elements of Moral Philosophy Whewell, 69 Data of Ethics–Spencer 70 Methods of Ethics—Sedgwick, 71 Utilitarianism by J S. Mill, 72 Types of Ethics Vol. 1 Martineau, 73 Types of Eithics–Vol.II Martineau, 74 Prologomena to Ethics—Green, 75 Science of Ethics—Leslie Stephen, 76–77 Buller's Works Vol. I and II 78 Mental and Moral Science Bain, 79 History of Ethics–Sedgwick, 80 Ethical Problem—Carus, 81 Nicomachean Ethics—Aristotle, 82–83 Politics of Aristotle Vol, I and II 84 Study of Sanology—Spencer 85 Republic of Plato 86 Loke s Essays, 87 Hume s Essays, 88–91 Courtes System of Positive Philosophy 4 vols. 92 General view of Positivism—Courtes 93-95 Courtes Positive Philosophy 3 vols., 96 Hegel s Philosophy of history 97 Schegel's Philosophy of history 98 Schegel s Philosophy of life 99 Mavzonis—The Betrothed 100 Plutarch s Morals, 101 Hobb s Leviathan, 102 Machiavelle—The Prince 103 Darvinism and Politics, 104 Darvinism and Race Progress 105 Promotion of general happiness, 106 Social Contract, 107 Voltaire—J Morley 108–109 Rousseau Vol. I and II by J Morley



The wooden cage of Mandalay where Lok. Tilak was imprisoned for Six years.

110—111 Didero Vol. I and II by J. Morley, 112 Burke by J. Morley, 113 Ideal Commonwealths. 114-115 Burke's select works Vol I and II. 116 Burke's select works, Regicide, 117 Milton's Areopagitica, 118 Lewis' Government of the Dependencies, 119 The State by Woodrow Wilson, 120 Principles of Science by Jevons, 121-23 Todhunter's Trigonometry. Conic sections and Integral Calculus, 124 Edward's Differential Calculus, 125 Clebrooke's Essays, Vol II (only), 126 Herschels Astronomy, 130-133 Stricklands 4 books Folklore and legend, 134 Omina and Portenta—Weber, 135 Bentley's Hindu Astronomy, 157 Riddle of the Universe, 158 Fundamental principles of Positive Philosophy, 159 Hume's Essays 161 Cassel's Germ -English Dictionary. 162-163 German Principia Pt. I and II, 164-165 Otto's German Reader I and II,166 Whitakar's Modern Method of studying German, 167 German Composition by Lange, 169 Hugo's German simplified, 170 How to speak German (set of three), 171 German verbs simplified, 172 German idioms simplified, 173 Hugo's German Reading simplified, 174 MacMillan's German Series First Course, 175 The Karavan (German), 176-179 Sebabu's Classics (German) 4 Volumes, 180 Der Land firediger (German Trans of Vicar of Wakefield), 181 Gulliver's Reisin. (Germ Trans), 182 Robinson Crusoe (Germ. Trans), 183 Macaulays Hastings (Germ Trans), 184 Vicar of Wakefield (English), 185 Gulliver's Travels (English), 186 Macaulay's Hastings (English), 187 Robinson Crusoe (English) 188 Otto's French Conversation Grammer, 189 De Feva's Germanaireder Ger-French Reader, 192-203 Hugo's French books (12 books in all), 204 205 Henri Bue's first and second book, 206 Key to Henri—Henri Bue's first Course, 207-210 Self-taught series (4 books)-German, French, Hindusthani Grammar and language. 211 Guide to French Pronunciation, 212 La Cariculture La Angleterre, 213 Petit Jap, 214-230 Story of the Nations series (17 Volumes) Moors in Spain, Hungary etc, 231 Chambers 20th Century Dictionary, 232 Shranta Bhumi—Athavale, 233 Kumardasa—Nandargikar, 234 Kurukshetra—Brooks, 235 Hindu Aspect of Salvation by Brooks,

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In addition to the above the following—268-269 Note-books, 275 Note-book, 283 Grundrin Buddhism, 285 Goethes Faust (Text and Trans) 291 Diary for 1913, 306 Buddha and Buddhism Sille 307-308 Pali Course I and II—Gray 312 Pali Reader I 313-314 Dhammapada in Burm and San, 318 Pali Reader II, 321 Bhagawat Puran (San) 327 Hegel and Hegelianism, 339 Siddhanta-Kaumudi, 342 Paulsen s System of Ethics 344 Mahavansa (Eng Trans.) 351 The Gitas, 353-354-356 Vinaya-Pitaka, Vol. I and II and IV (Three Books), 360 Sutta-Nipata (Pali), 362 Buddhism and Christendom (Lilie), 365 Bharatiya Upakatha, 366 Sarva Mula Part I 370-371 Note books (blank), 372 Uttar-Gita 373 Gita with Hammat Bhashya, 376 Tatwadipika Gita (Vallabha) 379-380 Two Nietze s books 381 Sarvadarshan-Sangraha—(clothing).

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Mandalay. 30 April, 1914.

Lok. Tilak's Proposed New Books.

BOOKS PROJECTED OR SUGGESTED

(Syllabus for future work.)

(1) History of Hindu Religion–Vedic, Shrauta, Upanishads. Epic, Pauranic, Darshanas, Bhakti, Prehistoric–Other religions, conclusion.

(2) Indian Nationalism, (the story of or the aspects or phases of)

(3) Pre–Epic History of India

(4) The Shankara Darshana (Indian Monism)

(5) Provincial Administration.

(6) Hindu Law.

(7) Principles of Infinitesimal Calculus.

(8) Bhagvat–Gita–Rahasya–Ethics

(9) Life of Shivaji

(10) Chaldea and India

Political

Chapters

(1) Introductory.

(2) Vernacracy Chaturvarnya.

(3) Hindu state and Empire.
(4) Buddhism, shakas and Renovessance
(5) Mahomedan Conquest and Empire
(6) Break Up–Maratthas, Sikhs, etc.
(7) British conquest.
(8) Government by the Crown (Constitution)
(9) Consolidation.
(10) Bureaucracy its ideals.
(Comparision of Spanish, Austrian, and Russian Bureaucracies.)
(11) Progress (two opposite views)
(12) Reconciliation.

Mandalay *B G Tilak*

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* Subhas Chandra Bose

(Chief Lieutenant of the Late Desh Bandhu C R. Das; General Secretary Indian National Congress–28; Leader of Young Bengal, Calcutta.)

I never had the privilege of being introduced to Lokmanya Tilak. I saw him only once and that was on the occasion of the Calcutta Congress in the year 1917 Lokamanya was then, probably at the height of his fame and glory I caught a glimpse of him from some distance but I still remember his calm, serene and determined look with the stamp of self-mastery on it. Since then I had no opportunity of coming closer to Lokamanya till in 1925 *I was, in a most unexpected manner thrown into circumstances* which enabled me to have a deeper appreciation of the magnitude of his greatness.

Towards the end of Jan. 1925 when I was a guest of His Majesty's Government, I was transferred to Mandalay Jail in Upper Burma. Soon after my arrival there some of the detenus

who had preceeded me, pointed out the building in which Lok. Tilak had been confined for over five years The compound within which this structure was situated was adjoining ours . The old structure of Lokamanya's time had been extended but no material alteration had taken place. It was a wooden building–not built of bricks or stones–made of palisading and looked like a cage. At night after lockup, when the lights in the room were on, the human creatures inside looked more like denizens of the forest than like civilised men.

The climate of Mandalay according to our experience was unhealthy and unfavourable to a degree–the more so, as we ourselves were the inmates of a wooden cage in Mandalay jail We could, therefore, visualize the condition under which Lokamanya had to live several years ago In summar, the place was a veritable furnace. The wooden palisading afforded no protection either from the heat or from the glare and the tiles overhead only aggravated our discomfort Dust storms were frequent during that season and heat and dust made a good combination in order to heighten our physical suffering. In winter the cold was bitter. The wooden bars again failed to shut out the cold and the biting blast. During the rains our room used to be flooded periodically. The rain was driven in by the wind from all directions and the roof used to leak. Often at mid-night we used to be roused by a sensation of wetness and had to spend a good few hours in pulling our cots from one place to another, in trying to protect our books and other belongings from getting soaked and in endeavouring to clear the room of the accumulated water In a word, the inmates of that building were entirely at the mercy of the elements.

Summar was the longest season The heat was simply schorching. I have hardly ever experienced such heat in my life Wet towels wrapped round one's person would dry up in no time Till mid-night the air would be hot and the place would be so close and stuffy that sleep would be imposible. In the early hours of the

morning the temperature would sometimes drop suddenly and would get up in the morning with cold and caugh. Hardly any one of us escaped repeated attacks of sore-throat, cold and Influenza. The atmosphere was so depressing that one would feel overcome with a feeling of lassitude and sustained intellectual work in that atmosphere was well-nigh impossible While at Mandalay I used to be reminded constantly of the land of Lotus-Eater of which Tennyson wrote

I often used to think and wonder how in those circumstances Lokamanya could go in for prolonged intellectual work for over five years Only one who had attained complete self-mastery who was altogether indifferent to pleasure and pain and heat and cold could rise above such dismal surroundings Lokamanya was all alone in that horried cage-the only society that he could get was the none too desirable company of the Jail Officials whenever they dropped in Even the ordinary prisoners of the jail were not allowed to associate with him. Consequently he would have to be immersed in his books or in his thoughts all the time What degree

Even in small matters Lokamanya s freedom inside jail was respected. He could not have more than two books with him at a time. He would have to return these before he could get others. His correspondence was subjected to censorship at the hands of the jail superintendent and from examples that were related to us I could gather that the censorship was as rigid as that of the C.I.D in the case of the Bengal detenus and in some cases probably more severe When he had interviews with his people or with Mr Khaparde-which did not take place more frequently than once a year *on the average-officials used to be present, the conversation* would be followed closely and he would be pulled up at times. All these pinpricks must have told severely on his sensitive mind. In this connection I am reminded of an annecdote. A certain Government official came to see Lokamanya in prison and asked How are you, Tilak ?" The omission of the prefix Mr was too

much for him and in a rage he went for the official. The official was first taken aback for he did not expect to find such a keen sense of self-respect in a prisoner but he ultimately got out of the scrape by apologysing.

On one occasion plague broke out inside the Mandalay Jail. Lokamanya had to be removed elsewhere and under cover of secracy he was transferred to another jail. He spent some months there and was again brought back to Mandalay. With the exception of this break he spent practically the whole of his term of imprisonment namely six years in Mandaley

Interesting stories are still told about Lokamanya in Mandalay jail His was a simple and if I may say, monotonus life given to study and contemplation, His imprisonment was "Simple"—so the Jail officials did not impose any work on him But he worked day and night, with his books and with his pen A little walk in the morning and evening inside the compound of his ward served as a diversion He was fond of gardening and there are trees which exist even to-day which are reported to have been planted by him Lokamanya used to receive letters from his people and friends at regular intervals and whenever there was any delay, he used to feel very anxious As far as I remember he had to receive news of several berevements when he was there but he stood them with the courage and resignation that were characteristic of him.

Lokamanya did not have to serve the full term of six years but was released a few months earlier Elaborate arrangements of intellectual strain that would mean for the ordinary man, can be easily understood

If we recall for one moment the circumstances under which Lok Tilak went there to live in, we shall have a glimpse of his mind and of the severe ordeal through which he had to pass During the time that he was in prison, the country was passing through a period of political depression. Hardly any events took place outside

which could cheer him up with the thought that his country-men were alive to a sense of duty and were carrying on his unfulfilled task. Moreover in a remote corner of Mandalay Jail his condition was that of a full-fledged exile He was not allowed to receive any newspapers. His extreme anxiety to know what was going on in his country can, therefore be well imangined though it can be fully appreciated only by those who have been in similar circum stances

Lokamanya was not in the best of his health when he was incarcerated. He was suffering from Diabetes and had to adhere to a very rigid diet. I have heard from the officer who was in charge of the jail at that time that he lived practically on Barley or on wheet. He was allowed to receive Ghee from his people but hardly anything else. A marathi speaking convict was sent to Mandalay from an Indian Jail and he used to cook for Lokamanya. The above mentioned officer used to take credit for himself by saying that Lokamanya improved in health under his treatment. Personally I do not accept the statement and I rather believe that Lokamanya's health was completely undermined by the time he was released. So great was the physical and intellectual strain, that few men could stand it, much less survive it. I still wonder how in those circumstances Lok Tilak could produce such a magnificient work like 'Gita-Rahasya."

I met the Superintendent and the Jailor who were in charge of him and I also met some of the warders who were in that jail at the time Every one had the highest regard for him. The poor Indian warders used to feel proud when they talked of him The jailor would speak volumes in praise of the great man and would say that Lok. Tilak used to look upon him as his son and give useful advice on many matters. The Superintendent of the jail had the greatest admiration for his intellectual ability and his lofty character He used to praise particularly Lokamanya's wonderful memory

were made for his transfer to India prior to his release. He was conveyed from Mandalay to Rangoon in a special train and from there he was taken to Madras. At the dead of night he was roused from his sleep and promptly and without notice taken to train that was awaiting him. Lokamanya was kept entirely in the dark as to his destination and not till he reached Madras was he able to guess what his destination would be.

Mandalay jail was to a political pilgrim like myself a real place of pilgrimage, hallowed by the memories of one of India's greatest men. That pilgrimage is one of the happiest episodes in my life.

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* I was for a long time in correspondence with Mr S. C Bose with respect to his contribution which he had promised to give me. The contribution however reached me when the last form of this book was being composed. In the meanwhile I had inserted on page 151 an extract, from his speech at the sixth Maharashtra Provincial Conference held at Poona, which related to Lok. Tilak, hoping that this would serve the purpose of the book in some way if the contribution does not reach me in time. However, I have received his contribution after that extract had already gone to press. —Editor.

INDEX

A

Ali brothers 18, 117
Arabinda Ghose 36 52, 57, 143 171, 181.
Ashwini Kumar Datt 57
Ashutosh Chaudhari (Sir) 4.
Asquith 188.

B

Belvi 84
Besant (Dr) 18, 53, 54.75 77 116 143 166 171, 177
Bhupendranath Basu 4 57 74.
Bombay Swadeshi Stores 19

C

Chandavarkar N G 46.
Charles Paul (Sir) 10
Chirol Case 122.
Congress—
At Amritsar 35 40 54
At Lucknow 57 65
At Surat 14 15 19 36 49 52, 63 103, 119 170

D

Dadabhai Naoroji 43 62 152, 181.
Danial O connel 119
Das C. R. 113, 114 118 171, 179 181,
Davar (Justice) 6, 33 34 108,
Deshamukha M G 42.
Deshapande G B. 53.
Dyarchy 40 173.

G

Ganga Prasad Varma 143.
Gandhi (Mahatma) 18 26 40 50 54 63, 65 67 90 97 112 114 118, 121, 141, 146 147, 149, 150 152, 171.
Geeta 133, 134, 176
Gladstone 130
Gokhale G K. 19 39 56 61, 109 120 127 139, 160 170

H

Hirendranath Datt 4
Home Rule agitation 21
Horniman 95

I

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar 12 13

J

Jaykar M R. 41.
Jinnah M. A. 46 57 75, 116 118 166
John Simon (Sir) 114
Joshi V G 41, 72, 96, 102

K

Kamalpasha 130

Karandikar R. P. 23, 84, 87, 122, 155, 185, 187.
Kelkar N. C 25, 38, 41, 46, 75, 81, 84, 87, 90, 95, 96, 139, 144, 153, 155, 165, 166.
Khaparde G. S 15, 25, 118, 152, 155, 159, 177.
Khare D. A 6, 7.
Khilafat-movement. 140, 150.

L

Lajpat Rai 61, 97, 159, 171.
Lenin 130.

M

Madan Mohan Malviya 97, 116, 148
Maharaja of Darbhanga 78.
Mazzini 12, 119, 130.
Metha P. M. 19, 39, 40, 64, 104, 106, 127, 170, 180.
Moonje B. S. 80, 85, 152.
Motilal Ghose 56, 77, 80,103,177.

N

Namjoshi M. B. 168, 169.
Nevinson H. W 181.
Non co-operation 40, 65, 150.

P

Paisa Fund 41.
Pal B C 52, 57, 75, 77, 84, 87, 155, 166, 171.
Passive Resistance 46.
Patel V. J. 95, 96.
Pitt 130.
Prince Bismark 130.
Paugh L. P. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9.

R

Raghavaiya 188.
Rajendra Lal Mitra 12.
Rammohan Roy 12.
Ranade M. G. 18, 56, 109, 139.
Rash Behari Ghose 19, 52,75,160.
Reforms (Montague-Chelmsford) 29, 34, 54, 112, 173.
Responsive Co-operation 26, 40, 54, 118, 149.
Richard Garth (Sir) 5, 6, 7.

S

Sai Maharaj of Sherdi 81.
Sayed Ahmed (Sir) 15, 43.
Shishir Kumar Ghose 108, 109.
Strachey (Justice) 8.
Surendranath Banerji 1 to 5, 8, 12 to 15, 19, 43, 77, 104, 116, 166.
Swadeshi-movement 14.
Swaraj 11, 18, 62, 148, 161.

T

Tilak's letters to Mr. Khaparde.
Tilak's letter to Motibabu 107
Tilak's letter to his Nephew Mr. Dhondopant.
Tilak's trial in 1897, 3, 9.
Times of India 9.

V

Vaidya C. V 98.
Valentine Chirol (Sir) 28 56,155

W

Wachha (Sir Dinshaw) 8.
Washington 119
William Garth (Sir) 4 to 9
William Wedderburn (Sir) 63
William Jackson nicknam
Tiger Jackson 4 10